HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND DYNASTIC HISTORY OF ORISSA

UP TO THE RISE OF THE IMPERIAL GANGAS

DILIP KUMAR GANGULY, M.A. (Gold Med.)



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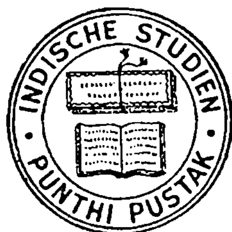
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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY
AND
DYNASTIC HISTORY OF ORISSA

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Dedicated
to
my father,
SHRI PRAFULLA KUMAR GANGULY,
whose
blessings have been
my greatest source of inspiration.

FOREWORD

The historical geography and the political and cultural history of Orissa, especially during the early and medieval periods, are complicated subjects, and Dr. D. K. Ganguly must be congratulated for selecting some aspects of these for the present work.

The difficulty facing the student of early Orissan geography is that there was no ancient name to indicate the entire State of Orissa of today and that, whereas, some geographical names not only covered parts of Orissa but also of other territories, the names of territorial units to which particular areas belonged often changed, and the boundaries of such units also sometimes varied from period to period. A similar difficulty in the domain of political history is created by the fact that many of the early dynasties ruled over parts of Orissa as well as of other territories (with their capitals outside Orissa in some cases) while there were often a number of ruling families flourishing about the same time in the various areas of the country. Likewise in the sphere of cultural life, Orissa exhibits an admixture of different elements, the principal one being the Aryan which has been considerably influenced by the Dravidian because a part of its population including a number of ruling families (e.g. the great Gaṅgas and Sūryavaṁśīs) came from the South.

The difficulty of the student of early Orissan problems is further increased by a mass of careless writing characterised by a tendency to theorising and poor decipherment and interpretation of epigraphical records. We are therefore glad to

note that, generally speaking Dr. Ganguly has succeeded in maintaining an approach of critical objectivity in his discussion of the various topics so that his work will no doubt be very useful to the student of the early history and geography of Orissa.

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18.4.75

D. C. Sircar

PREFACE

The present work embodies the author's humble attempt to trace the historical geography and dynastic history of the glorious land of the Oriyas up to the rise of the Imperial Gaṅgas by c. A.D. 900. Many distinguished historians of superior calibre have already trodden the field, but interesting as it is, the field still appears to offer an ample scope for further investigation. I have carefully gone through the invaluable writings of my illustrious predecessors and judged their conclusions afresh in the light of the materials, Indian and foreign, literary and archaeological. Naturally, I have often accepted their views, while at times I have differed from them and reached new conclusions. In interpreting the source-materials I have been guided by a sense of impartial judgement rather than an eagerness for theorising.

Part I of this work deals with the various territorial units, their administrative divisions, towns, rivers and mountains in them, as known from the available source-materials. Orissa was known as Kaliṅga in early times. The term Kaliṅga is of Austric origin, but in the course of time it became a part of Aryan vocabulary and denoted the entire Oriya-speaking area by the time of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (p. 4). The *Mahābhārata* shows that Kaliṅga extended in the north up to the river Ganges, while Pliny's narrative extends its southern limit far to Srikakulam district (pp. 6ff.). In the early centuries of the Christian era the region around Dhauli emerged as a distinct unit under the name of Tosala or Tosalī which sometime denoted the whole of the Orissan sea-board, from Balasore to Ganjam (pp. 38ff.). The denotation of the term Kaliṅga became thus restricted and in the fourth and fifth centuries it signified parts of Ganjam and Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and East Godavari districts

(pp. 9ff). From the close of the fifth century till the rise of the Imperial Gaṅgas in the tenth century Kaliṅga denoted a still more restricted area comprising present Srikakulam and parts of Ganjam districts where the Early Gaṅgas were ruling from their capital in Kaliṅganagara, located in the Mukha-lingam—Nagarakatakam area (pp. 13ff.).

Tosalī and its two divisions, viz., North Tosalī and South Tosalī, find prominent mention in the epigraphic records from the latter half of the sixth century A.D. onwards. Inscriptions seem to suggest that the northern unit corresponded to modern Balasore district with parts of Cuttack and Midnapur and the southern, to Puri district with portions of Cuttack and Ganjam. It was by the beginning of the tenth century A.D. that the Imperial Gaṅgas succeeded the Early Gaṅgas on the throne of Kaliṅganagara and still later on, during the reign of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (c. A.D. 1078—1147) they became the masters of the coastal territory between the Ganges and the Godavari. Accordingly, the term Kaliṅga soon acquired a wider denotation to mean the whole of the Gaṅga dominions, stretching from the Ganges to the Godavari. The Muslim authors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D., however, describe the Gaṅga kingdom as Jajnagar, evidently after the capital of the same name in Cuttack district.

The Orissan coast was also called Utkala and Oḍra or Uḍra. The existence of Utkala as a kingdom in the fourth and fifth centuries is warranted by Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamsa* which locates the territory between the river Kapiśā (i.e., the Kasai in Midnapur district) and Kaliṅga. In the first half of the seventh century A.D. Utkala and Oḍra were synonyms and denoted the same region comprising Midnapur and Balasore. When in c. A.D. 638 the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited U-cha or Oḍra, the country included the Cuttack-Puri region as well which formed the territory

of the Dattas. Soon, however a change had set in the denotation of the term. It no longer signified the Orissan coast, but indicated the buffer region between Dakṣiṇa Kosala and lower Orissa. The Bhauma-Kara kingdom, which at the zenith of its glory embraced the entire sea-coast from Midnapur to Ganjam, was never called Oḍra but was distinctly referred to as Utkala and Tosalī in the contemporary inscriptional documents. Subsequently, Oḍra came to denote the entire Oriya-speaking area (p. 59). Portions of West Orissa, including Sambalpur district and the ex-feudatory States of Patna, Sonpur, Bamra and Rairakhol, were known as Dakṣiṇa Kosala which also comprised Raipur and Bilaspur districts of Madhya Pradesh (pp. 75ff.).

Part II deals with the political life of Orissa during the period of our study. The earliest political status of the country, referred to in the *Mahāgovinda Suttānta*, shows it as a sovereign state, flourishing in the second part of the seventh century B.C. (pp. 101ff.). The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* indicates that it formed a part of a bigger, probably the Aśmaka, kingdom during the age just before the Buddha, but that it once again emerged as an independent state immediately afterwards is evidenced by the combined testimony of the *Cullaniddesa* and *Kalingabodhi Jātaka*. The Hathigumpha record shows the inclusion of Orissa within the orbit of the Nanda paramountcy (pp. 105 ff.). The country appears to have asserted its independence during the period of turmoil at the time of the accession of Candragupta Maurya, but was annexed to the Maurya empire by Aśoka in his 13th regnal year, and divided, for administrative purposes, into two halves one having its headquarters at Tosalī, and the other at Samāpā (pp. 114ff.).

The Cedis came to Orissa from outside at a very early date and assumed the reins of government by the middle of the first century B.C. (pp. 124ff.). Khāravela, the third king of

the dynasty, is generally held to be one of the most powerful monarchs of ancient India, but as a critical study of the available evidences seems to indicate, he was in reality not so great as he has been painted. His claims of victory against Gorathagiri, some of the North Indian rulers and the kings of Pṛthūda and the Pāṇḍya realm may be called in question, but those against the Bhojakas, Raṭhikas, Bahasatimita and an unnamed king of Magadha may be accepted. His war against Śātakarṇi I appears to have ended in an inglorious truce (p. 136). The later history of the Cedis is obscure but they were probably supplanted by the Kuṣāṇas who governed this country through their viceroys (pp. 150ff.). The Allahabad inscription proves that in the contemporary period the country was split up into several principalities which acknowledged the overlordship of Samudragupta temporarily. At a later date the Guptas once again extended their hold over Kaliṅga, parts of which remained under their possession till A.D. 569 (p. 159).

The Vigrahas and the Śailodbhavas appeared on the stage simultaneously as feudatories under the northern lords (pp. 174ff.). The Vigrahas reigned for a shorter period, being expelled by the Māna king Śambhuyaśas who became the overlord of the Śailodbhavas (p. 188) also. A little before A.D. 619 Śaśāṅka conquered the entire Orissan coast and divided it into two parts—the northern part was placed under the Dattas and the southern half under the Śailodbhavas. But before A.D. 623 Śaśāṅka was reduced to submission by Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman and the feudatory families utilised the opportunity to proclaim their independence. Harṣa ultimately conquered the Śailodbhavas (before A.D. 643) but did not annex their territory. After Harṣa's death in A.D. 647 the Śailodbhavas once again assumed independent status till they were overthrown by Neṭṭabhañja in the second half of the eighth century. After a few decades, the Bhauma-Kara dynasty, which wielded power for two centuries, was

founded and it ruled over the entire coastal rogion, including Daṇḍabhukti and Airāvaṭṭa *maṇḍalas*. Ultimately, shorn of internal strifes and foreign aggressions, it passed away from history (pp. 203ff.).

While North Kaliṅga was time and again feeling the pressure of the powerful dynasties of North India, South Kaliṅga passed through a period of trouble and turmoil. The Māṭharas, Pitṛbhaktas and Vāsiṣṭhas held the rein of administration for short periods (pp. 224ff.) till the Eastern Gaṅgas came and established order.

I offer a sincere tribute of respect and gratitude to my teacher Professor D. C. Sircar for the unfailing help and encouragement, received from him throughout my career. I record with gratitude the assistance I have received from my teacher Professor S. Chattopadhyaya in the preparation of the work. I am grateful to my teachers Shri Kamal Krishna Mukhopadhyaya and Shri Goshtha Bihari Saha of Uttarpara Government High School for initiating me into the realm of historical studies. I am sincerely thankful to my brothers Shri Pradip Kumar Ganguly and Shri Subhas Chandra Ganguly and my brother-in-law Shri Abhijit Chattopadhyaya for helping me in various ways in the publication of the book. My thanks are also due to two of my beloved students, Dr. Vijaylakshmi Chaudhury and Miss Aparna Sengupta for their help in the preparation of the Index. To the authorities and staff of the Orissa State Museum I feel greatly indebted for the ungrudging assistance that I secured from them in the course of my stay in Bhubaneswar. I must also acknowledge the help rendered to me by the Visva-Bharati University Central Library, Santiniketan. Thanks are due to Shri Shankar Bhattacharya, Proprietor of Punthi Pustak, for his valued cooperation in connection with the publication of this work. And finally, I am indebted to my wife Mrs. Malabika Ganguly for her invaluable help and unfatigued co-operation.

The circumstances hardly allowed me to avoid errors and misprints for which I crave the indulgence of readers. Many of the errors have been noticed in the *Corrigenda* appended to the volume. Any suggestion for the betterment of the work will be carefully considered at the time of revising it for a future edition.

D. K. Ganguly

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PART I

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT ORISSA

Chapter I

KALIṄGA

The Oriya-Speaking Area

The Orissa country proper is not always conterminous with the region where Oriya tongue[1] prevails. The cradle of a language is always a restricted one, while with the march of time it widens like a small child, growing day by day and attaining a developed stature. Sometime the process may be a reverse one, but in the case of Orissa we find the operation of this general principle. This is borne out by the following observation of G. A. Grierson[2] :

> 'The Orissa country is not confined to the Division which now bears that name. It includes a portion of the district of Midnapore in the north, which, together with part of Balasore, was the 'Orissa' of the phrase 'Bengal, Bihar and Orissa', met in the regulations framed by the Government in the last decade of the 18th century. Oriya is also the language of most of the district of Singbhum, belonging to the Division of Chota Nagpur and of several neighbouring Native States which fall politically within the same division. On the west it is the language of the greater part of the district of Sambalpur and a small portion of the district of Raipur in the Central Provinces, and also of the number of Native States which lie between these districts and Orissa proper. On the south, it is the language of the north of the Ganjam district of Madras, with its connected Native States, and of the Jeypore Agency of Vizagapatam. It is thus spoken in three Governments of British India, viz., in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, in the Central Provinces and in the Madras Presidency'.

This extensive region in ancient times, as is disclosed by evidences, literary as well as archaeological, was partitioned

into different *janapadas*[3], though the Aśokan edicts show that in the third century B.C. the major portion of this area was known as Kaliṅga. But shortly afterwards the region around present Dhauli emerged as a distinct unit under the name of Tosala or Tosalī. Again from the second half of the sixth century A.D. onwards we hear of two divisions of Tosalī, viz., Northern (*uttara*) Tosalī and Southern (*dakṣiṇa*) Tosalī, the former including Balasore district with parts of Cuttack and Midnapore, and the latter, Puri district together with some parts of Cuttack and Ganjam. Accordingly, Kaliṅga lost its wider denotation to signify only the southerly part of present Orissa and the northern part of Andhra. As if to make the contraction more complete, new names like Oḍra, Uḍra and Utkala came to be used to denote the north-eastern part of the present Oriya-speaking area with Midnapore and Balasore districts and parts of Cuttack. Portions of West Orissa with Sambalpur district and the ex-feudatory States of Patna, Sonpur, Bamra and Rairakhol formed part of Dakṣiṇa Kosala. With these observations an endeavour may now be made to determine the boundaries of the territorial units often varying and fluctuating with the political wheel.

Kaliṅga in Indian and Foreign Literature

The earliest mention of Kaliṅga is possibly met with in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.[4] Sylvain Levi[5] tried to establish that such pair of words, 'differentiated between themselves only by the nature of their initial consonants', as Kaliṅga-Tiliṅga, Pulinda-Kulinda, etc. are foreign to Indo-European and Dravidian, but native to the Austro-Asiatic family. It is difficult to pronounce the final judgment on this controversial issue. Robert Shafer[6] takes Kaliṅga to be a Sino-Tibetan term, derived originally from *Ka-lin* or *Klin*, a view not accepted by scholars in general.

The *Mahābhārata*[7] preserves an interesting anecdote regarding the origin of several kingdoms in Eastern India. It is

stated that the sage Dīrghatamas, at the instigation of his wife Pradveṣī, was tied down on a raft by his sons and floated along the current of the river Ganges. While thus drifting away, he was rescued by the Dānava king Bali at whose behest he, under the custom of levirate, begot on his queen Sudeṣṇā five sons named Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma. These five princes, who were called Bāleya-Kṣatriyas or Bāleya-Brāhmaṇas, ruled over five different principalities which subsequently came to be known after them. But such accounts have little historical value. It may reasonably be suggested that 'Utkala, Kaliṅga and Oḍra like Kosala, were named after different stocks of people rather than after the names of some founder monarchs. Ancient Indian literature, both Brāhmaṇical and Buddhistic, while speaking of these territories, repeatedly refer to the people rather than the land, thus lending support to this view.[8]

The country of Kaliṅga is mentioned by Pāṇini[9], the author of the *Arthaśāstra*[10] as well as by Bodhāyana.[11] The Buddhist literature abounds in references to Kaliṅga-raṭṭha and assigns to this country the city of Dantapura where king Brahmadatta is said to have erected a *stūpa* over a tooth-relic of the Buddha. The references to Kaliṅg-āraṇya in the Pāli texts[12] show that large tracts of the country were covered with forests. Kaliṅga finds mention in Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka which includes within its jurisdiction the cities of Tosalī, identified with modern Dhauli near Bhubaneswar in Puri district, and Samāpā near modern Jaugada in Ganjam district. Tosalī probably continued to be the capital of Kaliṅga in the second half of the first century B.C. during the reign of Khāravela, described in his own Hathigumpha inscription as *Kaliṅg-ādhipati* and in the inscription of his chief queen as *Kaliṅga-cakkavatti*. In the Hathigumpha inscription the capital is called Kaliṅga-nagarī. Some epigraphists have read the name of the city as Khibira, but it is doubtful.

The Classical writers like Pliny (c. A.D. 23-79) and Ptolemy (c. the middle of the second century A.D.) do not appear to

have had any clear idea about the topography of the Kaliṅga country. In McCrindle's translation of Pliny's accounts we are furnished with the names of three tribes relevant for our purpose, i.e., the Maccocalingae, the Calingae and the Modogalingae.[13] Bastock,[14] however, gives the reading Gangaridaes Calingae in the passage 'The last nation, situated on the banks of the Ganges, is that of the Gangaridaes Calingae' in place of McCrindle's translation' . . . the country of the Gangarides'. In the Loeb Classical Library series version,[15] which is considered the most authoritative one, again, we find the mention of the Mactocalingae, the Calingae nearest the sea, the Gangarid Calingae and the Modogalinga. The Modogalinga are referred to in the sentence running as follows : 'There is a very spacious island in the Ganges containing a single race named the Modogalinga race'.[16] So from this translation we get in fact four names—the Mactocalingae, the Calingae nearest the sea, who evidently occupied the Kaliṅga country proper, the Gangarid Calingae, living, no doubt, in that part of Kaliṅga which extended to the river Ganges and finally the Modogalinga, who occupied a Gangetic island. The last two should properly be included within 'one' group for both were associated with the Ganges. Pliny has evidently made an unnecessary duplication. Unfortunately the identification of these tribes and their location are rendered difficult by the nature of the description which appears to be erroneous and confusing. Pliny was evidently guided by his notion about the existence of more than one Kaliṅga settlement from which the Indian writers were also not completely free.[17]

But the above account of Pliny is important for it shows that Kaliṅga extended in the north-east up to the Ganges. That the territory of the Kaliṅgas stretched onwards from the Ganges seems to be corroborated by the following passages of the *Tīrthayātrā* section of the *Vanaparvan.*

Vaiśāmpāyana said,—'Then, O Janamejaya, the son of Pāṇḍu started from the river Kauśikī and repaired in succession to all the sacred shrines. And, O protector of men ! he came

to the sea where the river Gaṅgā falls into it ; and there in the centre of five hundred rivers, he performed the holy ceremony of a plunge. Then, O ruler of the earth ! accompanied by his brothers, the valiant prince proceeded by the shore of the sea towards the land where the Kaliṅga tribes dwell (*tataḥ samudra-tīreṇa jagāma vasudhādhipaḥ | bhrātṛbhiḥ sahito vīraḥ Kaliṅgān prati Bhārata !*)

"Lomaśa said,—'This is the land, O Kunti's son ! where the Kaliṅga tribes dwell. Through it passeth the river Vaitaraṇī : on the banks whereof even the god of virtue performed religious celestials' (*Lomaśa uvāca | ete Kaliṅgāḥ Kaunteya | yatra Vaitaraṇī nadī | yatr-āyajata Dharmmo'pi devān śaraṇametyavat*)"[18]

The passages reveal that the Pāṇḍava brothers along with the sage Lomaśa came to the Kaliṅga country after having crossed the confluence of the Ganges and the sea (*Ga*[illegible] *saṅgame*), thus indicating further that the G[illegible] boundary line of Kaliṅga. Some scholars[19] are [illegible] that the river Vaitaraṇī, which falls into the Bay of Bengal through Cuttack district, formed the north-eastern boundary of the Kaliṅga country. But the epic statement that 'this is Kaliṅga where flows the river Vaitaraṇī' does not warrant that the river formed its border.

According to Pliny, the Kaliṅga country stretched in the south far into Srikakulam district of the present Andhra State, as he places the Cape Calingon and the town of Dandagula within this region. The last named place evidently answers to Dantakūra of the *Mahābhārata* and Dantapura of the epigraphic records. The place is stated to have been lying at a distance of 625 miles from the mouth of the Ganges. Levi[20] has identified the city with a place in the neighbourhood of Chicacole and Kalingapatam near the mouth of the river Languliya.

Ptolemy does not refer to Kaliṅga, but the three places in his *Geography* are generally supposed to be named after the nomenclature of the *janapada*. They are Kalliga, mentioned

as an inland city of the Maisoloi, Sambalaka, placed on the bank of the Ganges, and Paloura, identified with Dantapura. Sambalaka is located by some scholars at Sambalpur, but this may not be correct.

The Purāṇic accounts of Kaliṅga are confusing to a great extent. Most of them place Kaliṅga in South India. The *Vāyu* and *Mārkaṇḍeya*[21] *Purāṇas* describe the Kaliṅgas as a people of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, associating them with the Mahārāṣṭras, Muṣikas, etc. The *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Brahma* and *Vāmana*[22] *Purāṇas*, on the other hand, make them the inhabitants of the Madhyadeśa. The *Matsya* and *Kūrma Purāṇas* make the Kaliṅga country extend as far west as the Amarakaṇṭaka hills. This discrepancy among the *Purāṇas* on the location of Kaliṅga may be explained by supposing that the Purāṇic writers were familiar with many settlements of the Kaliṅga people, scattered over different regions. That the Puranic authors, rightly or wrongly, thought of more than one Kaliṅga settlement is further corroborated both by the *Matsya* and *Mārkaṇḍeya*[23] *Purāṇas* which speak of the Kaliṅgas as dwelling on all sides (*sarvaśaḥ*) of the southern regon (*Dakṣiṇāpatha*). Judged in this context we cannot agree with Pargiter who suggests *pūrvaśaḥ* to be a preferable reading.

A passage of the *Mārkaṇḍeya*[24] *Purāṇa* mentions the Kaliṅgas among the peoples of the north-western part of India, locating them on the Śatadru, i.e. the Sutlej. There is hardly any evidence to show the trace of any settlement of the Kaliṅgas in the Punjab. The *Purāṇas*, moreover are notuna nimous about the reading of Kaliṅga, for the *Vāyu* reads Kulinda (Kulindrine of Ptolemy) instead, and the *Matsya*, Pulinda.

The *Arjuna-vanavāsa* section[25] of *Ādiparvan* refers to Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga as being visited by the hero in the course of his sojourn in the east (*Aṅga-Vaṅga-Kaliṅgeṣu yāni puṇyāni kānicid / jagāma tāni sarvāṇi tīrthāny=āyatanāni ca //*). It further says, 'Crossing the country of the Kaliṅgas, the mighty one proceeded, seeing on his way diverse countries and sacred spots and diverse delightful mountains and houses.

Beholding the Mahendra mountains adorned with the ascetics (residing there) he went to Maṇipūra proceeding slowly along the sea-shore'.[26] Curiously enough, the above account distinguishes the Mahendra from Kaliṅga. In the *Digvijaya* chapter[27] mention is made of Kaliṅga in the compound *Kaliṅgān=oṣṭra-karṇikān*[28] as a country in the south which was brought under subjection by Sahadeva. The *Ghoṣayātrā* section,[29] on the other hand, mentions the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, etc. as people of the eastern quarter, and excludes the last named people from its list of southerners. The *Śāntiparvan* refers to Rājapurī as the metropolis of the Kaliṅga monarch Citrāṅgada whose daughter was abducted by Duryodhana from the *svayambara* ceremony. The *Mahābhārata* mentions a second city of Kaliṅga called Dantakūra[30] where Kṛṣṇa is said to have won a decisive victory.

Extent of Kaliṅga in the 4th-5th Centuries A.D.

The inscriptions of the Māṭhara and Pitṛbhakta kings of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. reveal that in the contemporary epoch the name of Kaliṅga was applied to designate the territory comprising parts of Ganjam district and Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and East Godavari districts. The following places are known to have been situated in Kaliṅga :

1. Śrīpura. G. Ramdas[31] identifies it with Siripuram in the old zamindary of Vavilavalasa in Visakhapatnam district, but S. N. Rajaguru[32] thinks it to be identical with the village of the same name in Parlakimedi taluk of Ganjam district.

2-4. Vardhamānapura, Sunagara and Sārapalli. The first named place has tentatively been located at Vadama in Visakhapatnam district. It is probably mentioned as Bradamane in the *Geography* of Ptolemy. Sunagara or the city *par excellence* may hypothetically be taken as referring to Kaliṅga-nagara, though the identification cannot be pressed too strongly. Sārapalli or Sārapallivāsaka[33] has doubtfully been

identified with Saripalle in Vizianagram taluk of Visakhapatnam district.

5. Simhapura. This city finds mention in several of the early Kaliṅga grants and Buddhist texts. The place is sometime called Vijayasimhopura as found in the Sakunaka grant of Ananta Śaktivarman. Hultzsch[34] locates it at Singupuram or Singapuram near Chicacole in Narasannapeta taluk of Srikakulam district.

6. Piṣṭapura. It is the ancient name of modern Pithapuram in East Godavari district. Its earlier mention is to be found in the Allahabad record of Samudragupta.

7. Devapura. It may be identified either with Devada[35] in Srungavarapukota taluk or Devadi in Chicacole taluk. D. C. Sircar has located it in the Yellamanchili area of Visakhapatnam district.

8. Vijayapura. The place has not yet been identified.

The identification of the above mentioned cities and the location of some of the donated villages[36] in the copper plate grants of these lines of kings would tend to show that Ganjam district of Orissa and Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and East Godavari districts were all parts of the Kaliṅga country.

The river Godavari was usually regarded as the southern boundary of Kaliṅga, but it is worth noting that the Ningondi grant[37] of king Prabhañjanavarman pushes the southern limit of the country even beyond the Godavari, for it states that Śaktivarman, the lord of Kaliṅga, 'ruled the land lying between the rivers Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā (Kṛṣṇā) and the Mahānadī as if the inhabitants of that region were his own offspring.' The *Raghuvaṁśa*[38] describes the king of Kaliṅga as the lord of Mahendragiri (*śriyaṁ Mahendranāthasya jahāra na tu medinīm*) and speaks of the capital of the country, though not mentioned by name, as being on the sea-beach. 'The sea could be seen through the windows of the royal palace, and the roaring of its waves drowned the sound of music.'[39] Cunningham identifies the Mahendra with the present Mahendramale range, now standing on the borders between Orissa and Andhra.

The existence of a district called Kaliṅga-*viṣaya* is traced in the contemporary Ragolu plates[40] of Śaktivarman, to which is assigned the village of Rākaluva, identified with Ragolu near Chicacole in Ganjam district.

From the close of the fifth century A.D. onwards the region, about present Srikakulam district and parts of Ganjam district, forming the kingdom of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas, came to be known as Kaliṅga, as shown by the grants of the monarchs, who claimed themselves to be the lords of Kaliṅga, discovered in these places.

It is interesting to note that a contemporary record, i.e., the Sumandala plate of A.D. 569[41] applies the name Kaliṅga-*rāṣṭra* to the dominions ruled over by one Pṛthivīvigraha-*bhaṭṭāraka*. The inscription reveals that Dharmarāja, a feudatory under king Pṛthivīvigraha, granted a piece of land in the Khallikot region in Ganjam district in the Gupta year 250.

During this period the southern boundary of Kaliṅga was subjected to constant alterations in consequence of political animosity between the rulers of the North and South. The Śālaṅkāyanas were in occupation of the coastal area between the Kṛṣṇā and Godavari with their capital at Veṅgī, identified with Peddavegi near Eluru in West Godavari district, Andhra, in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. These rulers, as well as their successors the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, who held their sway in the same region in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., did not claim any such title as the 'lord of Kaliṅga'. Similarly the Eastern Cālukyas, who founded a kingdom covering seaboard from Visakhapatnam district in the north-east to Guntur district in the south-west by the second quarter of the seventh century A.D., are not known to have claimed any overlordship over the Kaliṅga country.

Hiuen-Tsang's Description of Kaliṅga

About A.D. 638 Hiuen Tsang[42] visited Kaliṅga, which according to him lay at a distance of 1400 or 1500 *li* to the

south-west of Koṅgoda. The country was about 5000 *li* in circuit while its capital was 20 *li* in circumference. Near the northern frontier of the country lay a great mountain precipice, at the top of which was a stone *stūpa* about 100 feet high. Cunningham[43], and following him Beal[44], identified the chief town with Rajamahendri on the Godavari or with Koringa on the sea-coast, as they believed that these places agree with the bearing and distance given in the text. Fleet, on the other hand, located the place at the site of modern Kalingapatam on the sea-coast in Ganjam district. It, however, appears from other evidences that the capital of Kaliṅga during the time of the pilgrim's visit was located at Kaliṅganagara, known to us from several copper plate grants of the Early Eastern Gaṅga kings.

Location of Kaliṅganagara

The location of Kaliṅganagara, the capital of Kaliṅga, has been a puzzling question among Indologists. The place has been equated by some[45] with Kalingapatam, but the reliability of the hypothesis may be called in question in the context of the absence of any trace of antiquities 'of a nature which could suggest the fact of its ever having been the capital of the Kaliṅga kingdom.' G. V. Ramamurti[46] advocated that the site, covered by the villages Mukhalingam and Nagarakatakam, on the left bank of the Vaṁśadharā river, represents the ancient capital of Kaliṅga. This view has subsequently been endorsed by Hultzsch,[47] V. A. Smith[48] and R. D. Banerji[49] on the following grounds :

1. The Mukhalingam-Nagarakatakam site has yielded abundant archaeological remains which are very ancient and historically important.

2. A few inscriptions discovered from this place contain the phrases *Kaliṅg-āvani-nagare śrīman-Madhukeśvarāya Śarvāya* and *Kaliṅgadeśa-nagare śrīman-Madhukeśvarāya devāya.* This shows that the town, where the temples stand, was called

Nagara or Kaliṅga (-deśa)-nagara, i.e., the Nagara of the Kaliṅga country.[50]

3. A stone inscription of Anantavarman in the Madhukeśvara temple of Mukhalingam, recording a grant issued from Kalinganagara, confirms the identification.

In view of the above facts Mukhalingam-Nagarakatakam may be regarded to be the same as the ancient capital of Kaliṅga during the reign of the Early Gaṅga kings. 'Mukhalingam is corruption of Mohalingam which is the Oriya form of the word *Madhukaliṅgam*'.

Extent of Kaliṅga in the Imperial Gaṅga period

It was probably about the beginning of the tenth century A.D. that the Imperial Gaṅgas succeeded the Early Gaṅgas on the throne of Kaliṅganagara. By the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (c. A.D. 1078-1147) of this dynasty conquered the coast land between the Godavari and Ganges from the Somavaṁśī kings. Thus the rule of one political power came to be established over the major part of the ancient Kaliṅga country that extended far to the north and the term Kaliṅga soon acquired a wider denotation to mean the whole of the Gaṅga kingdom stretching from the Ganges to the Godavari. The Kharod plate[51] of the Kalacuri king Ratnadeva II of Kosala describes king Coḍagaṅga as the lord of Kaliṅga. But the use of the term as a synonym of the Gaṅga dominions did not continue for long. Soon the capital of the Gaṅga kingdom was shifted to Jajnagar, i.e., Jajpur in Cuttack district and finally to Abhinava-Vārāṇāsi-Kaṭaka, i.e., modern Cuttack in A.D. 1212-13.

The Muslim authors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. mention the Gaṅga kingdom as Jajnagar, and not as Kaliṅga. While writing his commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* in the thirteenth century A.D. Yaśodhara evidently used the term Kaliṅga in a very broad sense, as according to him, Kaliṅga lay to the south of Gauḍa-*viṣaya*.[52]

The *Saṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* section of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, a late work of the 17th century, defines Kaliṅga as a country which stretched from the east of Jagannātha as far as the banks of the Kṛṣṇā. D. C. Sircar[53] points out that Jagannātha of the text obviously refers to the presiding deity of Puri. He observes[54], 'The reference in our text may, however, be to the dominions of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis of Orissa. Their empire originally included certain tracts lying to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, though they were later ousted from those areas by the kings of Vijayanagara.'

In the same text mention is made of a country called Kāliṅga to the south of the river Kṛṣṇā. D. C. Sircar[55] points out that this country, the reference to which is otherwise unknown, probably denotes the Nellore-Guntur region which was once under the sway of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati kings.

The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*[56] contains a reference to the *sarkar* of Kalang daṇḍpāṭ lying beyond Puri which marked the southern limit of the *sarkar* Kaṭaka. In the south, however, the *sarkar* Kalang did not stretch as far as Rajamahendri which was included in a separate *sarkar*. The name Kaliṅga still survives in the name of a race of cultivators living on the southern bank of the Chilka lake.

Identification of Tri-Kaliṅga

We may now discuss briefly the meaning of the term *Tri-Kaliṅg=ādhipati* which occurs so prominently in some of the inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅga, Eastern Cālukya, Somavaṁśī and Kalacuri kings as a proud epithet of these rulers, in addition to 'the several titles they inherited from their respective ancestral thrones.' Cunningham[57] is of opinion that Tri-Kaliṅga comprises three kingdoms including Dhanakata or Amaravati, Andhra or Warangal and Kaliṅga or Rajamahendri. He further asserts that the idea of three Kaliṅgas was in vogue even in early times as would appear from Pliny's statement about Maccocalingae, Gangaridescalingae and

Calingae proper, as well as from the *Mahābhārata*, which mentions the Kaliṅgas thrice and each time in association with different peoples. Fleet[58] opined that the title of *Tri-Kaliṅg=ādhipati* was a meaningless attribute in the generality of cases. He understood the expression to mean the 'lord of three Kaliṅgas', comprising the whole of the country stretching from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Kṛṣṇā. Gerini[59] points out that the Andhras of Orissa and Telengana, 'in conjunction with their near relatives, the Kaliṅgas, founded, it appears, in that region, a kingdom consisting of three districts or separate communities called Trikaliṅga or Triliṅga, a name from which the town Telengana was derived and employed to designate the country Kaliṅga proper on the western side of the Gulf of Bengal, as well as, the country of Mons or Talengs (Talaings) on the opposite shore, which had been colonised by them'. Burnell[60] held the view that Tri-Kaliṅga is the ancient name of the greater part of the Telugu coast on the Bay of Bengal. Kielhorn[61] agreed with Cunningham in identifying Tri-Kalinga with the old province of Telengana. According to Subba Rao[62] Tri-Kaliṅga was the union of Utkala or North Kaliṅga, Kaliṅga proper and Tel Kaliṅga or South Kaliṅga and the country extended from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south. Binayak Misra[63] surmised that the so-called Tri-Kaliṅga empire comprised Kaliṅga proper, Koṅgoda and Utkala and the same view is endorsed by B. C. Mazumdar[64] and R. G. Basak.[65] D. C. Ganguly[66] advocated that the Tri-Kaliṅga country corresponds to North Kaliṅga or Ganjam district, South Kaliṅga or Godavari district and Madhya Kaliṅga or Visakhapatnam district. The mention of Madhyama Kaliṅga in some of the Gaṅga inscriptions has led scholars to suggest the existence of South and North Kaliṅga.

In his paper on Tri-Kaliṅga in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, I, pp. 18-19 G. Ramdas makes certain observations, worthy of being quoted here :

"The Mekalas, the Utkalas and the Kaliṅgas were respecti-

vely the Macco-Calingae, Gangarides-Calingae and Calingae of Megasthenes. The Maikal range of the Vindhya mountains still bears evidence of the habitation of the Mekalas in that region . . . the name of Kaliṅga was derived from Kui language still spoken by the Khonds, Gonds and other allied tribes. The old name of Gondwana given to the same region clearly proves that the whole region formed the home of the Gonds, a name generally applied to all the Kui speaking tribes in the Central Provinces. In Kui, '*Mel*' means high. Kal or Kala is a contraction of Kaliṅga. So the Kaliṅgas that inhabited the hills became known as Macco-Calingae which being contracted became Mekala. The Gangarides-Calingae were so-called because they lived in the region of the Ganges (Gaṅga) or damp and watery soil. Gaṅga also means water in general. *Uṭa* in Kui is applied to water that oozes. Gangarides-Calingae when changed into the language of the natives became Ūṭa-Kaliṅga which being contracted becomes 'Ut-kal' ".

G. Ramdas took Tri-Kaliṅga to mean 'High Kaliṅga'[67] and located it in the present Kalahandi-Sambalpur-Ghumsur area, which according to him, formed the buffer tract between the dominions of the Cedi and Eastern Gaṅga kings. He further identified Tri-Kaliṅga with Mel-Kaliṅga or Mel-Kal or Mekal on the ground that they convey the same idea.

The authenticity of most of the above mentioned theories on the interpretation of Tri-Kaliṅga can hardly be accepted. The use of the term in the sense of an extensive kingdom, comprising Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Utkala, or as stretching from the Ganges to the Godavari, appears to be far-fetched. Some of the Early Gaṅga kings adopted the title *Tri-Kaliṅg=ādhipati* or 'lord of Tri-Kaliṅga', although their authority was confined to the area about present Srikakulam district. The scholars, who have interpreted Tri-Kalinga to mean the amalgam of three kingdoms, have taken the affix *tri* in the sense of three, without considering the fact that the affix, in question, may signify 'height' and 'auspiciousness' as well.

Similarly it is difficult for us to accept the term Tri-Kaliṅga in the sense in which Ramdas has understood at least for the period of the Early Eastern Gaṅga kings, who did not wield any political authority over the Kalahandi-Sambalpur region. In fact the most satisfactory explanation of the term Tri-Kaliṅga, yet advanced, is that, which has been put forward by R. C. Majumdar. As he has pointed out, in the Eastern Cālukya inscriptions[68] of the tenth and subsequent centuries Tri-Kaliṅga is mentioned as a distinct territory from Kaliṅga and is obviously regarded as a place of less importance than the latter country. The Masulipatam plates[69] of Amma I (A.D. 918-925) inform that the Tri-Kaliṅga country adjoined Veṅgī-*maṇḍala* (*Tri-Kaliṅg-āṭavi-yuktaṁ*).

N. K. Sahu[70] draws our attention to a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa,* now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, which in his opinion throws welcome light on the extent of Kaliṅga and Tri-Kaliṅga. According to this work, the territory extending from the river Ṛṣikulyā to the Jhañjāvatī was called Kaliṅga,[71] while Tri-Kaliṅga extended from the Jhañjāvatī to the river Vedavatī. The Jhañjāvatī flows through the eastern portion of modern Koraput district as a tributary of the Nagavali, whereas the Vedavatī has been identified with the river Indravatī which flows through the western part of the same district. Sahu[72] finally concludes that the 'territorial extent of Kaliṅga and Tri-Kaliṅga, described above, may probably refer to the period of rule of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas from the end of the 5th century A.D. to about the middle of the 11th century A.D.' It is unwise to deduce any conclusion on the evidence of this manuscript which is a modern forgery.

Administrative Divisions of Kaliṅga

Inscriptions reveal that the *janapada* of Kaliṅga included several *viṣayas*. The *viṣayas* usually denote a district, comprising a few village or *grāmas*. A list of some of the important *viṣayas* may be given below :

Varāhavaṛtanī-*viṣaya*—included Siddhārthaka-*grāma*[?] (i.e., Siddhantam near Nagarakatakam in Srikakulam district), Rohanaka-*grāma* (i.e., Rohanki in the same district), etc. Sten Konow[73] located the district near Ch'cacole. The same view is held by V. V. Mirashi,[74] who is, however, inclined to extend its northern limit up to the royal capital of Kaliṅganagara. R. C. Majumdar[75] supposes that it was a comparatively big place which corresponded to the coastal region between Chicacole and Tekkali.

Rūpyavatī-*viṣaya*—consisted of Tuṅgannā-*grāma* which Rajaguru[76] has identified with Tungam near Tekkali. It lay to the north of Varāhavartanī-*viṣaya*.[77]

Kroṣṭukavartanī-*viṣaya*—comprised Sarauṭamva[78] (i.e., Sarvokota in Srikakulam district), Poppaṅgika-*grāma*[79] (i.e., Poppangi in the same district), Goṣṭhavāḍa or Goṭhavaḍa[80] (i.e., Gotta in Patapatam taluk of the abovementioned district), Toṭavāṭaka[81] (i.e., Totada or Todavada near Andhavaram), etc.

Puṣpagiri-pañcālī-*viṣaya*—contained the village of Haḍuvaka which answers to Adava in Parlakimedi taluk.[82]

Aṇḍadāśṛṅga-*viṣaya*—owes its origin to such a village name as Aṇḍadāśṛṅga[83] which may be identified with Adaisingi near Digupuṇdi in Ganjam district. The village Bhusuṇḍā which was situated within it is the same as modern Bhusunda in the same district.

Korasoḍaka-pañcālī-*viṣaya*—Korasoḍaka reminds one of modern Koroshanda near Parlakimedi. Navatula-*grāma* which formed a part of this district may be located at Nautala in Patapatam taluk in Srikakulam district.[84]

Lauhaśṛṅgāra-*viṣaya*—R. C. Mujumdar[85] identifies Lauhaśṛṅgāra with Loisinga in the feudatory State of Patna, but this identification, as he himself admits, cannot be ragarded as certain. The district included Pherava-*grāma* which Sarma[86] locates at modern Barua in Sompeta taluk. The district was close to the river Meghāvatī which may be identified with one of the small tributaries of the river Tel.[87]

Hallamvara-*viṣaya*—included Tanarḍā-*grāma* which is identical with Tanarda in Ghumsur taluk.[88]

Next in importance to *viṣayas* were *bhogas*, etc., but our knowledge of them is not very exhaustive as epigraphs supply us with a few notices of them. Literally, *bhoga* means possession or property and its use in the sense of an administrative unit is evidently of later origin. The extent of a *bhoga* cannot be easily determined. Fleet takes the term as a synonym of *bhukti*, i.e., a province. This view does not hold good in the case of Orissa. Since our inscriptions do not mention any other administrative division between *bhogas* and the villages within them, it is natural to presume that they were used to denote a smaller unit like a district in this part of India. It may, however, be noted that in certain parts of the country *bhoga* denoted a sub-division of a district as is evident from the Sarsavani plates[89] of Buddharāja which mention Gorajjā-*bhoga* as a part of Bharukaccha-*viṣaya*. The Jirjingi copper-plate inscription[90] of Indravarman mentions Voṅkhāra-*bhoga*. It included Jijjika-*grāma* (*Voṅkhāra-bhogasamvaddha-Jijjika-grāme*) which is the same as modern Jirjingi in Tekkali taluk, Ganjam district.[91] Another such district was Mahendra, which is referred to in some of the Early Gaṅga copper-plate grants and known to have included Kuttūra-*grāma*.[92] This village may be identified with Kottura of the Allahabad record of Samudragupta and located at Kothoor in Ganjam district. The District was evidently so-called because of its contiguity to the Mahendra range. In the Bṛhatproṣṭha grant[93] of Umavarman mention is made of Dantayavāgu-*bhoga* which was situated in Srikakulam district. The Siripuram plates[94] of Anantavarman refer to Pattana-*bhoga*. Srinivasa Rao[95] points out that the name of this division is derived from Pattana which is an abbreviated form of Kalingapattana, identified with Kalingapatam near Chicacole. Now, the term *pattana* denotes the capital city (*pattanaṁ yatra rājadhānī sthitā*), and as such the term *pattana-bhoga* may be taken as signifying a district centering round the capital, possibly the capital of Kaliṅga.

Another type of administrative area was *rāṣṭra* which was a small unit, denoting possibly a part of a district or sub-division. Inscriptions reveal the existence of one such division. The Purle plates[96] of Indravarman mention Kuraka-*rāṣṭra* which was not from Tiriliṅga-*grāma*, identified with Tirliṅgi in the neighbourhood of Tekkali.

Bhukti was another but equally rare type of administrative unit. The Santa Bommali plates[97] of Nandavarman or Indra-varman refer to Phareya-*bhukti* which may be tentatively located in Srikakulam district.

Several inscriptions of the period mention another type of administrative unit under the name of *pāṭaka*. According to Hemacandra, *pāṭaka* means a part of a village (*grāmai-kadeśaḥ*) but the word is used in our records to denote a village itself. Sometime, the name *vāṭaka*, which literally means a garden or a plantation, is applied to such an unit. We give below a list of some important *pāṭakas* or *vāṭakas* :

Toṭa-*vāṭaka*—appears to be the ancient name of Todavada[98] lying at a distance of about eight miles from Andhavaram in Srikakulam district.

Tiritthāṇa-*vāṭaka*—has been located in modern Tirida[99] in Kudala taluk, Ganjam district.

Besides these, there was another administrative unit bearing the name of *madamba*. The Siripuram plates[100] of Ananta-varman mention Kharapuri-*madamba*. The *Śivatattva-ratnā-kara* lays down that *madamba* was composed of eleven villages[101] (*yuktam=ekādaśa-grāmair=madambaṁ parikīrttitam*).

Cities in Kaliṅga

We may now turn to the cities, within the *janapada* of Kaliṅga. The combined testimony of the literary and the archaeological-sources bear ample evidences of the existence of a fairly large number of towns and cities in different parts of Orissa during olden days. Some of them like Purī, Bhuva-neśvara and Guhadevapāṭaka rose into prominence as centres

of religion ; cities like Paloura-Dantapura and Che-li-ta-lo developed as ports and market-towns ; and places like Tosalī, Khijjiṅga-koṭṭa and Abhinava-Vārāṇasī—Kaṭaka flourished as administrative centres. Whereas, some of these cities have succeeded in retaining the continuity of their prominence even in modern times, the great majority of them have helplessly succumbed to the ravages of time, being represented now-a-days by depopulated areas, mostly covered with jungles and unhealthy swamps.

Tosalī

The city of Tosalī, which is mentioned in the Separate Kaliṅga Edicts, was the headquarters of the north-eastern part of Kaliṅga during the reign of Aśoka. The place probably continued to be the capital of Kaliṅga during the period of the Cedi rule in the latter half of the first century B.C. Scholars are generally unanimous in identifying the place with modern Dhauli near Bhubaneswar in Purī district. While dealing with the problem of its identification Levi[102] observes : 'The transformation of Tosalī into Dhauli is not a phonetic impossibility. The intervocalic sibilant of Sanskrit can, and in certain cases must become a simple aspirate in *Prākṛt*. . . . If Tosalī could likewise develop into Tohalī, this unintelligible name could suggest Dhauli 'the white'.' In defining the boundary of the site P. C. Bagchi[103] points out : 'The boundaries of that town were probably the river on the west, the Kausullā-gang on the east and the Dhauli hill on the north or north-east. It is difficult to determine if the river has changed its course in recent times. But a study of the map shows that the main current now flows by the river Bargovi'.

The excavations at Sisupal Garh near Bhubaneswar have brought to light the remains of a great and well-planned city that flourished in the area from the third century B.C. onwards down to the fourth century A.D. In view of its close geographical proximity to Dhauli (the distance between the two

places being about two miles), it has been identified, with a great amount of surity, by some scholars[104] with Tosalī. B. B. Lal[105] has dated the various phases of Sisupal Garh (literally, Śiśupāla Fort) as follows :

I. Early period : c. B.C. 300-200.
IIA. Early Middle period : c. B.C. 200-A.D. 100.
IIB. Late Middle period : c. A.D. 100-200.
III. Late period : c. A.D. 200-350.

Samāpā

Samāpā, which is referred to in the Separate Kaliṅga Edicts of Aśoka, was the capital of the south-western part of Kaliṅga during the rule of the Mauryas. It has been located by scholars near modern Jaugada which is about 18 miles north-west of the town of Ganjan on the northern bank of the river Ṛṣikulyā.

Purī

The sacred city of Jagannātha, the Lord of the World, standing on the eastern sea-board of India in 19°41′ N. and 85°49′ E., is differently designated as Purī,[106] Nilācala, Puruṣottama Kṣetra, Śrī Kṣetra, Śaṅkha Kṣetra, etc. It is sometime argued that the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* contains the earliest mention of Purī as a place of pilgrimage. Eloquent tributes to the sanctity of the place and its presiding deity are paid by the *Kūrma*, *Nārada*, *Padma* and *Skanda Purāṇas*. The Nagari plates[107] of Anaṅgabhīma III describe the place as extending to the South Tīrtharāja, i.e., the Southern Ocean (*śrī-Puruṣottama-kṣetre dakṣiṇa-Tīrtharāja-taṭe*). Whereas, the *Mādalā Pāñji* attributes the construction of the present temple of Jagannātha to the Imperial Gaṅga monarch Anaṅga bhīma III, the Kenduli copper-plates[108] state that it was built on the ruins of an old and dilapidated edifice by king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (c. A.D. 1077-1147), evidently subsequent to his conquest and annexation of Orissa by c. A.D. 1112.

The temple of Jagannātha is a suit of four buildings, comprising, from east to west, the Bhogamaṇḍapa, the hall of offerings, the Jagamohana, also called the Nāṭamaṇḍapa, the dancing hall, the Mukhasālā, the audience hall and the Baḍa-deul, the inner sanctuary, all 'standing in a line with chambers opening one into another'.[109]

In the Baḍa-deul, Jagannātha, along with his brother Balabhadra, also called Baḍa Ṭhākura, and sister Subhadrā are enthroned on the Ratnavedī which is a throne of chlorite, about five feet in height. In addition to these wooden images, there are miniature metal images of Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and the Sudarśana Cakra. In the seventh century A.D. Purī was a stronghold of the Vajrayāna sect of Buddhism. Indrabhūti, the author of the *Jñānasiddhi* and his erudite sister Lakṣmīkarā were intimately associated with this place.[110] The eminent exponent of the Advaita philosophy Śaṅkarācārya (c. A.D. 788-820) in the course of his India-wide spiritual conquest is believed to have stayed for a while at Purī where he established one of his four Pīṭhas, called the Bhogavardhana Pīṭha.. As pointed out by K. N. Mahapatra,[111] 'Śaṅkara defeated the Buddhist Paṇḍits of this place by his vast learning and irrefutable arguments ; converted most of them to his own faith and proclaimed Jagannātha Buddha as identical with the great Brahmanical god Puruṣottama of the *Gītā*. This peaceful process of assimilation of a great Buddhist deity into the pantheon of Brahmanism strengthened its influence at Jagannātha, Purī which was a strong centre of Buddhism before his days. The *Kapila Saṁhitā*,[112] which appears to have been composed in the fourteenth century A.D., extols Purī as the holiest site in India, and as superior to Banaras in point of sanctity (*Vārāṇasyāḥ samam=asti kṣetram=Ekāmra-kānanaṁ| Puruṣ=ākhya-samaṁ kṣetraṁ n=āsti trailokya-maṇḍale||*).

The Muslim historians, including the author of the *Āin-i-Akbarī*[113] described the city as the city of Puruṣottama, whereas, to the Europeans it was simply known as Jagannātha after its celebrated deity. During the early days of the British

paramountcy it was described in official records as the city of Jagannātha, while the Collector of the district was called the Collector of Jagannātha.[114]

Koṇārka

Koṇārka, also called Arka Kṣetra, and Padma Kṣetra, is doubtless the same as modern Konarak, lying at a distance of about 21 miles to the north-east of Purī and renowned throughout the world for its imposing temple of the Sun-god, aptly extolled as the most exquisite memorial of Sun worship in India. The original name of the place was Koṇākoṇa from which is derived the modern name Konarak, meaning 'the Arka (Sun-god) at Koṇa'. According to W. W. Hunter,[115] Konarak 'signifies Koṇa+Arka, the corner of the Sun, or the corner of Arka Kṣetra, i.e., the corner of the region of Orissa, dedicated to the Sun'.

The *Kapila Saṁhitā*[116] mentions the place, which it calls the Maitreya Forest, as one of the four principal Kṣetras, the chief holy objects within its confines being the Sun-temple, the pools called Maṅgalā and Śālmalī-bhaṇḍa, the sea, the temple of Rāmeśvara, the Kalpavaṭa and the river Candrabhāgā. None of these sacred sites, barring, of course, the great temple, the eternal sea and the dried up river can be traced at present. The sea is about a mile and a half to the south-east of the temple, while the Candrabhāgā is now relegated to an insignificant rivulet, flowing at a distance about half a mile to the north. Almost all the land-grants of his successors[117] are unanimous in stating that it was under the orders of king Narasiṁhadeva I (A.D. 1238-64) of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty that the temple was erected. In old logs and sailing dictionaries the Sun-temple is mentioned as the Black Pagoda[118] in contrast with the Jagannātha temple at Purī which was called the White Pagoda. W. W. Hunter[119] records the legendary account of the origin of the temple as follows :—'A son of Viṣṇu having accidentally looked on one of his father's

nymphs in her bath was stricken with leprosy. The Indian Actaeon went forth into banishment; while wandering on the lovely shore of Orissa, was cured by the divine rays of the Sun. He raised a temple on the scene of the miracle and to this day the Hindu believes that a leper who with a single mind worships the bright deity will be healed of his infirmity'.

The accounts of the Classical authors refer to a few Sun-temples in the Western Punjab in the fourth century B.C. We hardly notice any account of such temples in the early *Saura Saṁhitās*. Varāhamihira[120] lays down that 'when a king would construct a temple of the Sun, he would appoint the Maga Brāhmaṇas for the purpose of worshipping the god'. It has been contended on the strength of this line of argument that Sun-temples came to be built up in India under the influence of the Magas who constituted the priestly class of the Śaka community.[121] The possibility of the Śakas being instrumental in some way or other in popularising the solar worship and the building-up of Sun-temples in Orissa may not be ruled out.

Paloura-Dantapura

As regards Paloura-Dantapura it may be mentioned that Ptolemy speaks of the famous port of Paloura, which served as one of the bases for the preparation of his map, as being situated on the eastern coast of India. He 'places Paloura at 136°40″ East X 11°20″ North at the entrance of the Gangetic gulf and at 20″ North of the *apheterium* where the vessels bound for the "Peninsula of Gold" (Khruse Khersonesos) ceased to follow the littoral and entered the high sea'.[122] Sylvian Levi[123] points out 'The name belongs to the Dravidian type; it is one of the long series of names ending in *our and oura, an element which has long been recognised as the Dravidian word *ūr* "city". J. Przyluski[124] was of opinion that the element *Pal* in Paloura admits of being treated either as a Dravidian word in the sense of 'tooth' or as an Austro-Asiatic

term meaning 'elephant's tusk'. Caldwell[125] explains the name Paloura by Tamil *pāl-ūr* to mean 'the city of milk'. Another explanation of the term has been advanced by Sylvian Levi[126] who on the analogy of Tamil *pallu* (tooth) suggests that Paloura may be interpreted to mean the 'city of tooth' and be identified with Dantapura, the ancient capital of Kaliṅga, as known from the Pāli texts. B. C. Sen[127] considers the meaning of Dantapura and Paloura as identical and mentions that 'a considerable tract of country including portions of the Midnapore district (where Daṇḍabhukti was situated) and Kaliṅga was once known by some name having *danta* as one of its constituent elements and that some of its important towns were called Dantapura (Sanskrit) or Paloura (Telegu)'. 'The alternance of Paloura-Dantapura', writes Sylvian Levi, 'besides, shows that in the time of Ptolemy the Dravidian language was disputing the territory of Kaliṅga with the Aryan dialect. Even to our day, Chicacole and Kalingapatam and the taluk of Palkonda are in the Telegu country ; the limit between the Aryan and the Dravidian apparently is more to the north, almost midway between Chicacole and Ganjam'.[128]

Dantapura is regarded in the Buddhist tradition as the famous capital of Kaliṅga. According to the Pāli *Dāthā Vaṁśa*,[129] composed by Dhammakitti, a tooth relic of the Buddha was presented by the Thera Khema to king Brahmadatta of Kaliṅga who deposited it with a magnificent *stūpa* at Dantapura. It remained there as a precious relic till the reign of Guhaśiva, who for security despatched it to Ceylon in the safe custody of his son-in-law Dantakumāra and daughter Hemamalā. It is worth noting that this tooth of the Master is worshipped even in recent times at Kandy in Ceylon. The *Mahā Govinda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*[130] mentions Dantapura in Kaliṅga (*Dantapuraṁ Kāliṅgānaṁ*) as one of the six famous cities of contemporary India. The Jaina *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*[131] speaks of this capital city of Kaliṅga and its king Dantavakra, 'the best of the Kṣatriyas'. Dantapura does not

find mention in the *Mahābhārata*[132] which repeatedly refers to Dantakūra, probably as a synonym of the former. Pliny calls this place Dandagula which he refers to as a fortified place to the south of the promontory of the Calingae lying at a distance of 625,000 steps, i.e., 3,645 stadia from the mouth of the Ganges. This has led Sylvain Levi[133] to search for the place 'in the neighbourhood of Chicacole and Kalingapatam, the city of the Kalingas', a little to the north of 18°; the distance between these two points is between 5 and 6 degrees along the littoral. Dantapura is mentioned in several of the Early Gaṅga copper plate grants. G. Ramdas[134] identified it with the present site of the fort of Dantavaktra which stands on the way from Chicacole to Siddhantam.

Abhinava-Vārāṇasī

Abhinava-Vārāṇasī or Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka, which finds mention in some of the Imperial Gaṅga records, has been identified with present Cuttack[135] which stands at the apex of the delta of the river Mahānadī and is bounded by the Mahānadī in the north and the Katjuri in the south. One of the land grants[136] of Anaṅgabhīma III helps us in confirming the location of the city in the said area by stating that the king, while staying at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī, took a sacred bath in the river Mahānadī between the temples of the gods Citreśvara and Viśveśvara (*Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-Kaṭake Citreśvara-Viśveśvarayor=mmadhye Mahanadyāṁ*) in the Śaka year 1151 (i.e., A.D. 1230). D. C. Sircar[137] observes, 'As the contraction of the name Satyabhāmā was both Satyā and Bhāmā, so was the contraction of Puruṣottama-Purī both Puruṣottama and Purī and of Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka both Vārāṇasī and Kaṭaka (Cuttack).' Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka or Cuttack is mentioned as the seat of government of Imperial Gaṅga kingdom in the Nagari plates of Anaṅgabhīma III and in some of the records[138] of his successors. Some of the Muslim historians refer to Cuttack on the Mahānadī as Banaras[139] till the time of the Later Mughals. A cloud of uncertainty hangs over the identity

of the Imperial Gaṅga monarch during whose reign the capital was transferred to Cuttack from its original location at Kaliṅganagara. The claim of Anaṅgabhīma III as the founder of the new capital city may be justified on the following grounds :

1. Anaṅgabhīma III is the earliest known king amongst the Imperial Gaṅgas to have issued charters from Cuttack.

2. The *Mādalā Pañji*[140] states that Anaṅgabhīma, who dedicated his kingdom to the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha, resided at Caudvāra-Kaṭaka on the Mahānadī river, whereas, his younger brother and successor, also called Anaṅgabhīma, transferred his residence to Vāṇārasī (Vārāṇasī)-Kaṭaka, which he built at the site of a village called Vāravāṭi, on the southern bank of the Mahānadī. The story, though confused on many points, may be taken to imply that Anaṅgabhīma III was the real builder of Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka.[141]

It is known from his land grants that Anaṅgabhīma III installed the god Puruṣottama at Cuttack in A.D. 1230-31. The observations of D. C. Sircar[142] are worth quoting in this context, 'The idea underlying the installation of a substitute of the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Purī at Cuttack is apparently the same that inspired Śivājī to instal a substitute of his patron deity, the goddess Bhavānī of Tuljapur near Osmanabad in the present Hyderabad State, in his newly built fort at Pratapgarh near Javeli. Apparently the Gaṅga king wanted to live constantly in the company of his patron-deity at his residence at Cuttack'. The god Jagannātha continued to be worshipped at Cuttack till A.D. 1360 when the idol was carried away to Delhi by Sultān Fīrūz Shāh as spoils of his victory over the contemporary Gaṅga king Bhānu III (c. A.D. 1352-78), as is evident from the *Tā'rīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī* of Shams-i-Sirāj.[143]

Bhuvaneśvara

Bhuvaṇeśvara, the present capital of Orissa, which also bore the names of Svarṇādri, Ekāmra, etc., has been defined in the

Svarṇādri Mahodaya[144] as having an area over ten miles, extending from the Khaṇḍācala (i.e., Khaṇḍagiri) in the west to the temple of Vahiraṅgeśvara atop the Dhauligiri in the south. The *Kapila Saṁhitā*[145] extols Bhubaneswar to the north of Nīlācala as best suited for the habitation of Śiva (*lavaṇasy=odadhes=tīre nīla-śail=ottamo nagaḥ/tad=uttara-syāṁ vikhyātaṁ kṣetram=Ekāmrakaṁ prabho //*). In the early days it was a stronghold of Buddhism as is warranted by the discovery of antiquities pertaining to the Hīnayāna system. From about the eighth century A.D. [146] Buddhism was on the wane and Śaivism gained momentum in consequence of which the place became crowded with numerous Śiva temples like those of Paraśurāmeśvara, Siddheśvara, Gaurī, Bhāskareśvara, Śiśireśvara, Kapālinī, Mukteśvara, Rājarāṇī, Liṅgarāja, Brahmeśvara, Megheśvara, Kapileśvara, Paścimeśvara, Uttareśvara and the like. These and similar other temples, which number about five hundred, as calculated by M. M. Ganguly,[147] 'vary in size from the gigantic structures like the great Liṅgarāja, 128 feet high, to the miniatures of a few feet set up in way-sides or along the banks of ancient tanks'.[148] As has been aptly pointed out, 'It is indeed rare to find anywhere in India such a large number of ancient monuments at one place as we have at Bhubaneswar, and covering such a long period and so well representing the dynastic changes in history'.[149] K. C. Panigrahi[150] has fixed the dates of some of these temples as follows :

Śatrughneśvara	—	c. A.D. 575
Paraśurāmeśvara	—	c. A.D. 650
Vaitāla	—	c. A.D. 775
Śiśireśvara	—	c. A.D. 800
Brahmeśvara	—	c. A.D. 1060
Kedāreśvara	—	c. A.D. 1100
Megheśvara	—	c. A.D. 1195
Ananta-Vāsudeva	—	c. A.D. 1278

REFERENCES

1. The present State of Orissa is located in the eastern coast of India in between $17^{\circ}48''$ and $22^{\circ}34''$ north latitude and $81^{\circ}24''$ and $87^{\circ}29''$ east longitude, being bounded in the north by Bihar, in the west by Madhya Pradesh, in the north-east by West Bengal and in the south by Andhra. In area Orissa may be compared with England and Wales which together are slightly smaller than the extent of the State which is 60,172 square miles.
2. *LSI*, V, p. 367.
3. The word *janapada*, the earliest occurrence of which is noticeable in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, literally means the abode (*pada*) of a people or tribe (*jana*). H. C. Raychaudhuri (*EHD*, p. 23) points out that a *janapada* was not merely a political unit, but something more, each of it having its own distinctive characteristics regarding the 'manners, customs, language, style and diction (*rīti*), ethnic peculiarities, flora and fauna' of its people.
4. *HO*, I, p. 43.
5. *PAPDI*, pp. 63 ff.
6. *EAI*, p. 14.
7. H. Siddhānta Vāgīśa, *Mahābhāratam, Ādiparvan*, 98 *Adhyāya. Aṅgo Vaṅgaḥ Kaliṅgaś=ca Puṇḍraḥ Suhmaś= ca te sutāḥ | teṣāṁ deśāḥ sam-ākhyātāḥ sva-nāmaprathitā bhuvi | Kaliṅga-viṣayaś=aiva Kaliṅgasya ca sa smṛtaḥ* ||51-2|| The story is repeated in some of the *Purāṇas* (*AIHT*, p. 158).
8. *UUHO*, I, p. 72.
9. *HO*, I, p. 46.
10. II, 2,20. The *Arthaśāstra* mentions the elephants of Kaliṅga, Aṅga Prācya and Karūṣa as belonging to the best of their types (*Kaliṅg=Aṅga-gajāḥ śreṣṭhāḥ Prācyās= Cetī Kārūṣajāḥ*).
11. I, I, 30-31.
12. *PHAI*, p. 88.
13. *CAI*, pp. 341-2.

14. Ibid, p. 350, n. 8.
15. Pliny, *Natural History*, II, pp. 387-9.
16. Ibid, p. 389.
17. The Modogalinga have been identified by some with the Madas, mentioned by Manu, as living in a region geographically contiguous to Andhra. A second suggestion soughts to locate them at Mukhalingam, but this does not tally with Pliny's description about their presence in a Gangetic island. Ramdas (*JBORS*, XIV, pp. 539-40) holds that the name is derived from Modugula, a village in Visakhapatnam district. Campbell (*Grammar of the Teloogoo*, Introd.) proposed to identify them with the people of Triliṅga, i.e. Telengana on the ground that the term originated from the Telegu *mūḍuga* or *mūḍuliṅga*. According to Caldwell's (*A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 1913, p. 32) analysis *modo* is equivalent to *mūḍu* (three) and *galiṅga*, to Kaliṅga, the term, thus taken as a whole, means three Kaliṅgas, Tri-Kaliṅga of the epigraphic records.
18. P. C. Roy, The *Mahābhārata* (New Edition), *Vanaparvan*, p. 255. H. Siddhānta Vāgīśa, *Mahābhāratam*, *Vanaparvan*, 95th *Adhyāya*, vv. 3-4.
19. *PHAI*, p. 88.
20. *PAPDI*, p. 170.
21. II, 39, 9.
22. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder* (1920), p. 72.
23. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 334.
24. Ibid, p. 316.
25. I, 215, 7820.
26. Roy, *The Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparvan*, p. 418.
27. II, 31, 1175.
28. Its variant readings are *Kaliṅgān=auṣṭramallikān*, *Kaliṅgān=oṣṭakarṇikān*, *Kaligāñś=coṇḍramallikān*, etc.
29. Roy, *The Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparvan*, p. 540.
30. *Kaliṅgān Dantakūre mamarda* | Some manuscripts read the passage as *Kaliṅgaṁ Dantavaktraṁ mamarda* [i.e., He

(Kṛṣṇa) destroyed the Kaliṅga (and) Dantavaktra].

31. *EI*, XXI, pp. 23 ff.
32. *IO*, I, pt. 2, p. 3.
33. EI, XXVIII, p. 301.
34. Ibid, IV, p. 143.
35. Ibid, XXIV, pp. 47 ff.
36. Of them Andoreppa is located at Andhavaram in Narasannapeta taluk of Srikakulam district, Bhiliṅga, at Baranga in Chikati tāluk, Ganjam district, etc.
37. *EI*, XXX, pp. 112 ff. *Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā-Mahānady=antaraṁ sva prajā-dharmmeṇ=āṁuśāsinaḥ śrī-Śaktivarmaṇaḥ.*
38. IV, 32. Mallinātha annotates *Mahendra-nāthasya* as *Kaliṅgasya.*
39. Ibid, VI, 56.
40. *EI*, XII, pp. 1 ff.
41. Ibid, XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.
42. *YCTI*, p. 199.
43. *AGI*, p. 516. Rajamahendri was probably founded by and called after the name of the Eastern Cālukya king Rājarāja Narendra (c. A.D. 1022-63).
44. *Si-Yu-Ki*, II, p. 207. Fergusson was of opinion that the capital was not very far from Kalingapatam ; R. D. Banerji (*HO*, I, p. 142) accepts Fergusson's suggestion.
45. *EI*, XX, pp. 77 ff.
46. Ibid, IV, pp. 187 ff.
47. Ibid, IX, pp. 94 ff.
48. *EHI*, p. 475.
49. *HO*, I, p. 142.
50. *EI*, IV, p. 188.
51. *EI*, I, pp. 40 ff ; Ibid, XXXII.
52. It is difficult to agree with P. Acharya (*JKHRS*, I, p. 136) when, speaking about the location of Jajnagar, he observes : 'I fully agree with Blochmann and Raverty and I am of opinion that the position of Jajnagar in the historical map of Eastern India will include the whole of the modern province of Orissa and States together with the

southern districts of Western Bengal such as Midnapur, Howrah and Hooghly and Bankura of Bengal, Singhbhum district of Bihar, Bilaspur and eastern part of Raipur districts of Central Provinces and Godavari and Vizagapatam districts of Madras'. N. K. Sahu (*UUHO*, I, pp. 148 ff.) criticises P. Acharya's theory in the following words: 'The territory of Jajnagar is not known from available sources to be as extensive as supposed by Acharya. It very likely denotes the Gaṅga empire during the period from Coḍagaṅgadeva (1112 A.D.) to Anaṅgabhīmadeva III (1212 A.D.), when Yayātinagara was the capital of that empire. But when in 1212 A.D. Anaṅgabhīmadeva conquered the Sambalpur-Sonepur region......and transferred the capital from Yayātinagara to Vārāṇasī Kaṭaka the enlarged empire with a new capital could not be called Jajnagar after the name of the old capital. If the Muslim chroniclers who flourished after 1212 called this country Jajnagar they were certainly influenced by older documents while they consulted to know about this territorry. When Shams-i-Seraj-Afif describes Jajnagar—Uḍisā with its capital city Banares on the right bank of the Mahanadi, he, without doubt, refers to the Gaṅga empire as it stood after Anaṅgabhīmadeva III'.

53. *SGAMI*, p. 84.
54. Ibid, p. 85.
55. Ibid.
56. The *Ā'in* mentions the following *sarkars* within Orissa :
    a) Jalesar—28 Mahals
    b) Bhadrak—7 ,,
    c) Kaṭaka—21 ,,
    d) Kalang daṇḍpāṭ—27 Mahals
    e) Rajamahendri—16 ,,
57. *AGI*, p. 594.
58. *EI*, III, p. 327.
59. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, pp. 29-30.

60. *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, p. 23.
61. *EI*, II, p. 298 ; *IA*, XVII, p. 225.
62. *JAHRS*, VI, pp. 201 & 203.
63. *JBORS*, XIV, p. 145.
64. *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 172, 187, 194.
65. *HNEI*, p. 161 ; *JBORS*, XIV, p. 145.
66. *IHQ*, VIII, p. 29.
67. G. Ramdas understood the term in the sense of 'height', but the editor of the Journal of the *Andhra Historical Research Society*, I, 1926, in a note at the end of the article (Ibid, p. 19) points out that *tiru* is a corrupt form of Sanskrit *śrī*, meaning Lakṣmī or auspiciousness. Some other observations of Ramdas are hardly conclusive. The identification of the Mekalas and the Utkalas with the Macco-Calingae and the Gangarides-Calingae respectively appear to be hypothetical. The Kui origin of the name of Kaliṅga is likewise extremely doubtful.
68. The Masulipatam plates of Amma I, the Kolavennur grant of the Cālukya king Bhīma II, etc.
69. *EI*, XXIII, p. 69.
70. *UUHO*, I, p. 99.
71. *Ṛṣikulyāṁ sam-āsādya yāvat Jhañjāvātī nadī / Kaliṅga-deśa prakhyāto deśānāṁ garhitas=tadā // Jhañjāvatiṁ sam-āsādya yāvat Vedavatī nadī / Tri-Kaliṅg=eti vikhyāto...//* The last portion of the verse is lost.
72. *UUHO*, I, pp. 99-100.
73. *EI*, IX, p. 95.
74. Ibid, XXX, p. 26.
75. Ibid, XXIII, p. 65.
76. *IO*, II, p. 58.
77. The name of the district is sometime read as Rūpavartanī (*EI*, XXIII, p. 65).
78. *IO*, II, p. 63.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid, p. 193.
81. *EI*, XXX, pp. 40-41.

82. *IO*, II, p. 69.
83. Ibid, p. 249
84. Ibid, p. 75.
85. *EI*, XXVII, p. 112.
86. Ibid, p. 113.
87. Ibid.
88. *IO*, II, p. 297. P. N. Bhattacharya (*EI*, XXIII, pp. 78ff.) reads the name of the *viṣaya* as Hallamyara.
89. *EI*, VI, pp. 297ff.
90. *JAHRS*, III, pp. 49ff; ibid, VII, pp. 229ff; *EI*, XXV, pp. 286ff.
91. *IO*, II, p. 4.
92. *JAHRS*, X, pp. 143-4; *EI*, XXVI, pp. 132-5.
93. *EI*, XII, pp. 4-6.
94. Ibid, XXIV, pp. 47-52.
95. Ibid, p. 49.
96. *EI*, XIV, pp. 360-63.
97. *JAHRS*, II, pp. 185-9.
98. *EI*, XXX, p. 41.
99. Ibid, XXVII, p. 35.
100. Ibid, XXIV, pp. 47-52.
101. Ibid, XXIV, p. 49.
102. *PAPDI*, p. 68.
103. Ibid, p. 177.
104. *BO*, p. 82.
105. *AI*, V, p. 72.
106. The name Purī means 'city' and it does not seem to have been in use before the British occupation of Orissa, it is supposed to be an abbreviation of 'Jagannātha Purī' i.e., the city of Jagannātha.
107. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 238.
108. Ibid, XXVIII, p. 251; *JASB*, LXIV, pp. 128ff; ibid, LXV, pp. 229ff.
109. C. Acharyya, *Wonders of Orissa Series*, I, *Puri*, pp. 37-38.
110. *OHRJ*, VI, p. 296.

111. Ibid, p. 298.
112. Chapter III.
113. Jarrett and Sarkar, *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (translation), II, p. 127.
114. C. Acharyya, *op.cit.*, p. 1.
115. *HO*, I, p. 283.
116. Chapter III.
117. *JASB*, LXV, pp. 229ff ; *AO*, II, pp. 145-63.
118. The earliest mention of this name seems to appear in the diary of Sir Streynsham Master, the Agent and Governor of Fort St. George in Madras (17th Century A.D.).
119. *HO*, I, pp. 283ff.
120. S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Evolution of Theistic Sects in Ancient India*, p. 107.
121. P. Acharya (*SOHAA*, p. 393) records the existence of a Sun-Temple at Paliabindha in Balasore district, but the details about it are not available.
122. *PAPDI*, p. 163.
123. Ibid, pp. 163-64.
124. *LSI*, VI, p. 650.
125. *Op.Cit.*, p. 104.
126. *PAPDI*, p. 164.
127. *SHAIB*, p. 44.
128. *PAPDI*, p. 175.
129. B. C. Law, *Dāthā Vaṁśa* (Punjab Sanskrit Series) ; *JASB*, XXVIII, pp. 186ff.
130. XIX, 36.
131. I, 6, 22.
132. *Mbh.*, V, 23, 708 ; V, 48, 1883 ; VII, 79, 7 (Southern Edn.).
133. *PAPDI*, p. 170.
134. *EI*, XIV, p. 361.
135. Ibid, XXVIII, p. 248.
136. Ibid, p. 256.
137. Ibid, p. 247.
138. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1122, 1125 ; SII, VI, No. 1069, etc.

139. *HO*, I, p. 282 ; *DHNI*, I, p. 491 ; Jarrett and Sarkar, *op.cit.*, p. 316.
140. *EI*, XXX, p. 21.
141. R. D. Banerji (*HO*, I, p. 10) thinks that Cuttack was 'a capital of recent origin, specially of the time of the Sūryavaṁśīs'. The Nagari plates prove beyond doubt the existence of Cuttack as a capital city as early as the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III..
142. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 247.
143. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, III, pp. 312-15.
144. *The Svarṇādri Mahodaya*, I, *ARB*, p. 2. The *Svarṇādri Mahodaya*, which was composed in the second half of the 15th century A.D., divides the city into eight units (*aṣṭ*=*āyatana*) and supplies us with valuable information about its temples, tanks, festivals and the mode of worship of the chief deities.
145. Chapter XI.
146. A lion capital, bearing an inscription, has been recovered from near the Bhāskareśvara temple. The inscription indicates that the Aśokan pillar was probably converted into a Śiva lingam of that temple by about the fifth century A.D. This shows that Bhubaneswar became a stronghold of Śaivism even by the fifth century A.D. (*ARB*, p. 214).
147. *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 273.
148. *ARB*, p. 1.
149. Ibid, p. 3.
150. Ibid, pp. 25ff.

Chapter II

TOSALA OR TOŚALA

Tosala in Early Literature

The earliest mention of Tosala is to be met probably in the *Atharva Veda Pariśiṣṭa*[1] where the people of this land are enumerated along with those connected with south-eastern countries. The form of the name in the feminine is found in the Dhauli version of the First (*Tosaliyaṁ Mahāmāta Nagara-viyahālaka*) and the Second (*Tosaliyaṁ Kumāle Mahāmātā ca*) Kaliṅga Rock Edicts of the Maurya emperor Aśoka where it is probably alluded to as one of the Maurya headquarters in the conquered country of Kaliṅga. The city of Tosalī is mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy[2] (c. A.D. 150) under the name of Tosalei or Tosale and is placed in 'India beyond the Ganges, at 150⁰ East and 23⁰20″ North on the way from the Ganges to the peninsula of Gold (Khruse Khersonesos), in the vicinity of Kirāta (Kirrhadia, Tiladai), in the centre of a region which corresponds to modern Sylhet and Manipur'. Although Ptolemy was ignorant of the actual location of the place, he was conscious of its importance, for, he described it as a capital city, *metropolis*. It may be noted that Pliny referred to the royal city of the Calingae as Parthalis which is generally taken to be a corrupt form of Tosalī. Scholars are almost unanimous in identifying the city with either modern Dhauli near Bhubaneswar or with a site[3] near it in Puri district. A Nagarjunikonda inscription, dated in the 14th regnal year of the Ikṣvāku king Vīrapuruṣadatta, while recording the building of a *cetiya-ghara* in the 'Cula-dhaṁmagiri-vihāra' on the Śrīparvata by Bodhiśrī refers to Tosala being silent about Kaliṅga. The *Gaṇḍavyūha*[4], a Sanskrit Buddhist text of the third century A.D., which forms the last part of the collection of the *Avataṁśaka*, mentions the country as Amita Toṣala and refers to its chief city. The country is placed in the Deccan

(*Dakṣiṇāpathe Amita-toṣale janapade Toṣalāṁ nāma nagaraṁ*) and we are told of a mountain to the north of the city, 'called Surabha, of which the summit was covered with lawns, bowers of trees, plants, groves and gardens'. The Surabha mountain may be identified with the Dhauli, also called Dhavalagiri, or with one of its adjoining hills.[5]

The *Matsya*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Vāyu Purāṇa* mention the people of Tosala along with those of Kosala, Tripura and Vidiśā and locate them in the Vindhyan region. The *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata (the fourth century A.D.) mentions Tosalī as a separate kingdom being distinct from Kaliṅga. Vāgabhaṭa[6] in his commentary on the *Kāvyānuśāsana* mentions Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Tosala and Utkala as being situated in the Pūrvadeśa which according to the author lay beyond the sacred city of Banaras (*Vārāṇasyāḥ parataḥ Pūrvadeśaḥ* ! *yatr=Āṅga-Kaliṅga-Kosala-Tosal-Otkala*).

D. C. Sircar[7] suggests that the name Tosalī in the sense of a kingdom was introduced about the second half of the sixth century. Tosalī, according to him, denoted the Vigraha kingdom in the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack area and was distinct from the Gaṅga dominions around present Srikakulam district of Andhra, then known as Kaliṅga. Sircar's view about the emergence of the Tosalī kingdom may be accepted, although it may be noted that the existence of this *janapada* can be traced back to the third century A.D.

Uttara-Tosalī in Inscriptions

Inscriptions from the second half of the sixth century A.D. onwards mention the name of Tosalī and its two divisions, viz., *Uttara* (North)—Tosalī and *Dakṣiṇa* (South)—Tosalī. Both the Soro plates of *Mahārāja* Śambhuyaśas[8], who belonged to the Mudgala or Maudgalya-gotra, and of a feudatory chief named Somadatta[9] mention *Uttara*-Tosalī and include within its boundaries Sarephāhāra-*viṣaya*, which has been identified with Soro in Balasore district. It is worth noting that the

latter record mentions Oḍra-*viṣaya* as forming a part of *Uttara*-Tosalī. *Uttâra*-Tosalī is mentioned in the Neulpur[10] and Hindol copper-plates of the Bhauma Kara kings Śubhākaradeva I and III respectively. The first grant registers the donation of the village Kompāraka on Parvatadroṇi situated in Pañcāla-*viṣaya*. Kompāraka has been identified with modern Kopari (20°17″ N. 18°25″ E.) in Balasore district,[11] while Pañcāla reminds one of the Panchmahal Pargana in the same district. The Hindol plate records the grant of the village called Naḍḍilo in Kāṅkavirā-*viṣaya* in *Uttara*-Tosalī. The village and the district have been identified with Nandelo[12] in Hindol on the northern bank of the Mahanadi, and Konkaraj in Angul respectively. A second Neulpur grant[13] discloses that its donor was the overlord of Northern Tosala which included the village of Solaṇapura which is doubtless the same as its namesake on the northern bank of the river Baitarani, being about five miles from Jajpur. The wide distribution of the villages within *Uttara*-Tosalī, as known from the aforesaid epigraphic records, would tend to show that this territorial unit corresponds to modern Balasore district and parts of Cuttack. That this unit included some portions of Midnapore district also is evidenced from the Baud copper-plates of Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Bhauma Kara dynasty which state that Daṇḍabhukti-*maṇḍala* lay within the jurisdiction of *Uttara*-Tosala. S. N. Rajaguru[14] is of opinion that this division of Tosalī stretched from the Kasai in the north up to the Baitarani in the south.

Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī in Epigraphic Records

Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī is mentioned in the Kanas plates of Lokavigraha[15] and the Patiakella plate of Śivarāja.[16] The first inscription which was issued from Taticcapattana records the grant of the village called Ūrddhivaśṛṅga situated in Uṭida or Muṭida-*viṣaya* in *Dakṣiṇa*-Tosalī for the maintenance of the temple of Maṇināgeśvara at Caikambaka or Ekāmbaka. Both

the village and the district cannot be satisfactorily identified, while the abode of the deity may be located either at Kanas near Delang in Puri district or at Bhubaneswar in the same district. The Patiakella plate, issued from Vorttanoka, records the grant of the village Taṇḍravalu which cannot be identified, but Vorttanoka[17] may be regarded as identical with Varttanī of the Śailodbhava records and located at Boirani in Ganjan district. An inscription[18] of the Somavaṁśī monarch Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, issued in his ninth regnal year, records the grant of the village called Candagrāma situated in Maraḍa-*viṣaya* in *Dakṣiṇa*-Tosalī. The village has been equated with modern Chandgan[19] about 32 miles from Cuttack and Maraḍa-*viṣaya* with Marada-Hariharpur in Cuttack district. The Chaurasi grant[20] of Śivakara II mentions the villages of Bubhurudā and Antarudra as being included within *Dakṣiṇa*-Tosala and these villages may be located at Buhuruda[21] (19°10″ N. 85°58″ E.) near Puri Antarodh in Puri district respectively. Two records[22] of the Bhauma Kara queen Daṇḍīmahādevī from Ganjam mentions *Dakṣiṇa*-Tosalī and assign to this territorial unit the villages of Villagrāma and Rasambhā and the *viṣayas* of Varāḍakhaṇḍa and Arttanī. They have been identified with modern Belgan[23] (19°26″ N. 84°51″ E.) in Athgarh in Ganjam, Baruda in Ghumsur (20° N. 84°31″ E.), Rambha[24] in the Khallikot area respectively, while the last named place evidently is identical with the district of Varttanī. The Banpur grant of the same queen records the donation of a village called Kaṇṭasarānagarī in Khiḍiṅgahāra-*viṣaya* in *Dakṣiṇa*-Tosala. The village is identified with Ghantasila[25] in Banpur, whereas, the *viṣaya* is equated with a hilly tract of Banpur bordering the erstwhile Nayagarh State. The village may further be identified with Kontakossyla of Ptolemy,[26] but the Classical writer, guided by his erroneous idea about the configuration of the east Indian coast, has placed it within the country of the Maisolos. Notice may be taken of a copper-plate grant of Daṇḍīmahādevī which mentions Koṅgoda-*maṇḍala* as a part of Southern Tosala. It

is thus evident from what has been said above that *Dakṣiṇa*-Tosala or Tosalī corresponds to modern Puri district with parts of Cuttack and Ganjam districts. According to S. N. Rajaguru[27] this division extended from the Baitarani in the north down to the river Rishikulya in the south. It is, however, still an open question whether the Baitarani, as held by S. N. Rajaguru, or the Mahanadi divided Tosalī into two parts. According to general view,[28] the region extending from the Mahanadi towards the north was known as Northern Tosala or Tosalī, while the tracts lying to the south of the Mahanadi formed Southern Tosala. About the mutual extent of the two divisions of Tosalī D. C. Sircar[29] remarks, '*Dakṣiṇa*-Tosalī roughly corresponded to Northern Kaliṅga (modern Puri district with parts of Cuttack and Ganjam) and *Uttara*-Tosalī to the Utkala country (modern Balasore district with parts of Cuttack and Midnapur)'. This statement is in consonance with the conclusion which we have reached after a careful study of the epigraphic records referring to Tosalī.

Capitals of Tosalī

As pointed out earlier, during the reign of the Vigrahas the kingdom of Tosalī had its capital probably at the city of Tosalī. The Bhauma Karas who occupied the same region at a later period shifted their capital to Virañja or Virajā, identified with present Jajpur (Yāyapura or Yājapura) in Cuttack district in A.D. 831.[30] At a still later date they seem to have renamed Jajpur as Guheśvara-pāṭaka or Guhadeva-pāṭaka or founded a new city of that name in the suburb of Jajpur which remained the capital of the dynasty till its end in the eleventh century.

Eighteen Forest States

In conclusion, it is interesting to consider the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka of the year 280, since it contains

the description of Tosalī as comprising eighteen forest states (*Tosalyāṁ = c = āṣṭādaś = āṭavī-rājyaṁ*). This seems to be the earliest reference to the tradition of the so-called Aṭhara-gaḍa-jāt of Orissa.

Administrative Divisions of Tosala

The *janapada* of Tosala included Koṅgoda-*maṇḍala*. In Indian inscriptions the term *maṇḍala* has been used in diverse senses. Sometime it is found to denote a kingdom[31], e.g., the Eastern Cālukya kingdom, called Veṅgī-*maṇḍala*. On the contrary, it also denoted a small administrative division like a district, as in the case of Khāḍī-*maṇḍala* in South Bengal, also known as Khāḍī-*viṣaya*. Often it signified again a smaller unit like Gokalikā-*maṇḍala* and Halāvarta-*maṇḍala*[32] included in Koṭivarṣa-*viṣaya* in North Bengal. The early inscriptions of Orissa contain numerous references to *maṇḍalas*, approaching the dimension of a kingdom.

Koṅgoda-*maṇḍala*[33], which finds prominent mention in the epigraphic records of the Śailodbhava kings, comprised the following *viṣayas* or districts :

1. Kṛṣṇagiri-*viṣaya*. It is mentioned in the Ganjam plates[34] of Mādhavarāja which included within its jurisdiction the village of Chavalakhaya. Hultzsch[35] identifies Kṛṣṇagiri with Nilagiri which is a name of modern Puri. S. N. Rajaguru[36] locates it in the region around the hill of the same name in Khallikot taluk of Ganjam district while the village Chavalakhaya is identified with Sabuliya near the Khallikot Railway Station.[37] B. Misra[38] identifies it with Chailu (84°57″ E. 19°16″ N.) in the old Khallikot State.

2. Thoraṇa-*viṣaya*. References to this district occur in the Khurda[39] and Puri[40] plates of Mādhavavarman and Banpur plates[41] of Dharmarāja. It is known from these records that the villages of Aharaṇa, Śāla (Māla ?)-grāma and Suvarṇaraloṇḍī were included within this district. Of these, the first is taken to correspond to Aryoun, situated in the neighbour-

hood of Khurda, the second to Garr Malyapara, a neighbouring village, while the third has not yet been properly identified. Thoraṇa-*viṣaya* thus may be located near Khurda in Puri district. B. Misra[42] places this district far to the south at a place called Thorabonga (19°16″ N. 84°25″ E.).

3. Jayapura-*viṣaya*. The Orissa Museum plates[43] of Mādhavavarman refer to this district as well as to one of its villages named Tamataḍa. The district has been equated by R. G. Basak with the old Jeypore State in Koraput district. But since no other geographical place in Koṅgoda, mentioned in the epigraphic records, can be located in the said area, this identification appears to be highly problematical.

4. Kaṭakabhukti-*viṣaya*. It is mentioned in the Parikud plates[44] of Madhyamarāja along with the village of Pūrva-khaṇḍa. R. C. Majumdar identifies it with the city of Cuttack, and the village with its suburb Purvakachch. B. Misra[45] locates the last named place at the region lying to the east of Aska without making any attempt to identify Kaṭakabhukti district.

5. Khiḍiṅgahāra-*viṣaya*. The mention of this district is made in the Nivina[46] and Kondedda[47] plates of Dharmarāja which refer to the villages Nivinā and Kondedda respectively as belonging to this administrative unit. B. Misra[48] identifies this *viṣaya* with the 'hilly tract of Banpur, bordering the Nayagarh state', called Khedajhari. Probably the most satisfactory identification of the place has been advanced by N. P. Chakravarty who equated it with Khidinga in Kodala taluk of Ganjam district. The villages of Nivinā and Kondedda are evidently the same as Nimmina and Kondra respectively.

6. Śrīrājatilaka-*viṣaya*. This district along with the village of Śivāvivāsa is referred to in the Chandeswar plates[49] of Dharmarāja, but unfortunately the location of these two places are far from certain.

7. Tanekaraṇḍrā-*viṣaya*. It finds mention in the Ranpur plates[50] of Dharmarāja which also mention one of its villages called Usta-*vāṭaka*, identified by S. N. Rajaguru[51] with the

modern Ustapada village in Ranpur wherefrom the plates were discovered.

8. Varttanī-*viṣaya*. This is mentioned in the Puri plates[52] of Dharmarāja which included Doṅgigrāma within its jurisdiction. The modern villages named Vartani[53] and Dongi situated in Athagada taluk of Ganjam district may be identified with the *viṣaya* and the village of the same name, as mentioned in the inscription. B. Misra[54] identifies Varttanī with Boirani and Dongi with its namesake in Nayagarh, but then Varttanī-*viṣaya* must be supposed to have been very extensive so as to embrace these two widely situated localities.

9. Guḍḍa-*viṣaya*. It is mentioned in the Buguda plates[55] of Mādhavavarman which refer to the village of Puipina in Khadirapāṭṭaka of Guḍḍa-*viṣaya*. B. Misra[56] identifies Puipina with the village Poipuni (19°11″ N. 84°21″ E.) near the Mahendra hill and Khadirapāṭṭaka with Koirapatty (84°53″ E. 19°37″ N.). But as pointed out by R. C. Majumdar,[57] since the two places are more than fifty miles apart, both these identifications cannot be accepted. Majumdar[58] accepts the identification of Puipina with the village Poipuni, suggesting the location of Guḍḍa-*viṣaya* in an adjacent region.

10. Devagrāma-*viṣaya*. This district as well as the village Ambagrāma find mention in the Purushottamapur plates[59] of Mādhavavarman, but they can hardly be identified at the present state of our knowledge.

Thus a careful study of the topography of Koṅgoda, as known from the numerous epigraphic records, may enable us to obtain a fair idea about the extent of this *maṇḍala*. On the east it was bounded by the Chilka lake and the Bay of Bengal ; on the south it might have reached the Mahendra mountain which was, however, included in Kaliṅga ; and on the west it was bordered by the present districts of Koraput and Baud. But there may be some doubt as regards its northern limit. While defining the boundary of Koṅgoda, B. Misra[60] makes the following observations : 'The hill-ranges running from Kaluparāghāṭa westwards seem to have demarcated its nor-

thern limit. There is no pass through these ranges of hills which reach a point in the south-west frontier of the Nayagarh State'. If Thoraṇa-*viṣaya* and Kaṭakabhukti are located in Khurda and Cuttack respectively, the northern extremity of Koṅgoda might have reached the lower valley of the river Mahanadi. Thus Koṅgoda-*maṇḍala* seems to have comprised present Ganjam and Puri districts and the southern portion of Cuttack as well.[61]

Hiuen Tsang refers to this country as Kong-u-t'o which Samuel Beal wrongly restores to be Kanyodha in Sanskrit. The narrative in the *Records* tells us that a journey from the U-ch'a country, to the south-west, for over 1200 *li* brought the pilgrim to Kaṅgoda. The country was 1000 *li* in circuit while its capital was about 20 *li* round. The pilgrim[62] states :

> 'It was a hilly country bordering on a bay of the sea. Their written language was the same as that of India, but their ways of speaking were different, and they were not Buddhists...... As the country was on the sea-side it contained many rare precious commodities ; their currency were couries and pearls and the country produced large dark coloured elephants which were capable of long journeys.'

Fergusson thinks that the capital of Koṅgoda was situated to the north of the Chilka lake and somewhere between Cuttack and Aska, whereas, B. Misra[63] surmises that the capital should be located at the present site of Ganjam where the ruins of temples are found in large quantity, and which, according to him, recall exactly Hiuen Tsang's description of the capital city of Koṅgoda. V. A. Smith locates the capital city at present Mukhalingam in Srikakulam district of Andhra. H. K. Mahtab[64] takes Palur as the capital while others[65] accept its identification with Bankada in Puri district. But none of these suggestions appears to be convincing, because, the epigraphic evidence seems to imply that the capital city of Koṅgoda, which also bore the same name, stood on the bank of the Śālimā river which is generally taken to be the same as the rivulet Salia which flows into the Chilka lake. S. N.

Rajaguru[66] has identified the river with the modern Rishikulya in Ganjam district, but this identification is not a satisfactory one.

Among the *viṣayas* or districts, included in Tosala, mention may be made of the following :

Varāḍakhaṇḍa-*viṣaya*—The name of Varāḍakhaṇḍa is probably preserved in Baruda in Ghumsur (20° N. 84°31″ E.). The village of Villagrāma, which was included within it, may be the same as Belgan (19°26″ N. 84°51″ E.) in Athgarh in Ganjam district.[67]

Artanī-*viṣaya*—contained Rasambhāgrāma which B. Misra[68] identifies with Rambha in Khallikot State.

Khiḍiṅgahāra-*viṣaya*—included Kaṇṭasarānagarī which is now represented by Ghantasila in Banpur. The district corresponds to the Khedajhari tract of Banpur.[69]

Kāṅkavirā-*viṣaya*—reminds one of Konkaraj in Angul, while one of its villages Noḍḍilo is located at Nandelo in Hindol.[70]

Bhukti was another type of administrative unit. Such a division was Vyāghrapura which comprised Jayapura-*viṣaya* and the village of Tamatada. Vyāghrapura may be supposed to correspond to the Jhadkhand tract of Ganjam district, which was under the rule of Vyāghrarāja in the fourth century A.D.[71]

Inscriptions indicate that Tosala included several *pāṭakas* or *vāṭakas*, comprising, besides others, the following :

Mātṛcandra-*pāṭaka*—may be identified with Chandraputu[72] (19°41″ N. 85°11″ E.) in Banpur.

Khairā-*pāṭaka*—which is sometime called Khadira-*pāṭaka*, is identical with Koirapatty[73] (84°53″ E. 19°37″ N.) in Ganjam district.

Guhadevapāṭaka

Among the cities that were located within this *janapada* Guhadevapāṭaka or Guheśvarapāṭaka may first be taken up. All the copper-plate grants of the Bhauma Kara rulers were

issued from this place which is called Guhadevapāṭaka in the earlier inscriptions and Guheśvara-pāṭaka in the later records. The place is described in these records as a *Java-skandhāvāra*, a term which, though ordinarily means a camp of victory, has often been used in medieval lexicons in the sense of a capital. It was evidently in this city that the seat of government of the Bhauma Kara kingdom was located.[74] The place is generally identified by scholars either with Jajpur or a locality in its suburbs,[75] because, first, a late tradition places the foundation the Bhauma Kara kingdom at Jajpur, and secondly, an epigraph mentions an early member of the family as the king of Virajas, evidently a variant of Virajā which is a well-known name of Jajpur. As held by B. Misra,[76] the name Guhadevapāṭaka owes its origin to a non-Aryan king named Guha, reputed in the *Purāṇas* as the saviour of the peoples, including the Kaliṅgas, Māhiṣyas and Māhendra Bhaumas, the Bhauma tribe, inhabiting the Mahendra mountain.

In ancient times Jajpur was a renowned centre of Tantric worship and the Mother Goddess cult, as is evident from the abundant archaeological remains uncovered at the place. During the Bhauma Kara period it was equally important as a seat of Mahāyāna Buddhism. On those few specimens of Mahayanic sculptures of about the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., that have been found at this place, N. K. Sahu[77] makes the following observation : 'About twelve miles to the south of this city runs the Asia range of hills, consisting of the Udayagiri, Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri and Alatigiri, where Mahāyāna Buddhism greatly developed during the Bhauma Kara period. These little known hills have preserved even at present magnificient monuments of Mahayanic arts scattered ruins of *stūpas* and shrines which testify to the vigour and prosperity of Buddhism in the early medieval Orissa. Colossal statues of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Tārās and many other Mahayanic deities, executed in graceful style, abound in all these hills, which may well be classed among the finest sites of Indian arts'.

As mentioned earlier, Jajpur was likewise known by the name of Virajā. In highlighting the sanctity of the Vaitarani valley the *Mahābhārata*[78] makes a particular mention of the place as fit for pilgrimage. The *Gayāsura Māhātmya* section[79] of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* alludes to the sacredness of the place by pointing out that it is the famous Nabhigayā where lies the naval portion of the demon Gaya. Popular Brahmanical belief[80] recommends the performance of oblations in commemoration of the departed souls of ancestors at Nabhigayā.[81] K. C. Panigrahi[82] records a Sanskrit verse, which is still recited at Nabhigayā at the time of offering *piṇḍa*, mentioning that the Somavaṁśī king Yayāti Keśarī celebrated ten *Aśvamedha* sacrifices at Jajpur with the help of ten thousand Brāhmaṇas, brought from Kanauj. A quay, called Daśāśvamedha *ghāṭa* may be noticed even now at Jajpur.

Koṅgoda

The capital of the Śailodbhava kingdom was located at Koṅgoda (*Vijaya-Koṅgoda-vāsakāt*) that stood on the river Śālimā, identified by scholars with the modern Saliya, running past Banpur and falling into the Chilka lake. P. K. Ray[83] identifies the city with modern Banpur which has yielded a large volume of archaeological remains, datable to the sixth-seventh centuries A.D.

REFERENCES

1. Chapter 56.
2. *CAI*, pp. 351 ff.
3. *PAPDI*, p. 68.
4. R. L. Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 90 ; *PAPDI*, pp. 70 and 176.
5. *BO*, p. 82.

6. *PAPDI*, p. 64.
7. *SGAMI*, p. 142.
8. *EI*, XXIII, pp. 197 ff.
9. Ibid, p. 202.
10. Ibid, XV, pp. 1 ff.
11. *DMO*, p. 16.
12. Ibid.
13. *JBORS*, XVI, p. 74.
14. *IO*, I, pt. 2, p. 152.
15. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 331 ff.
16. Ibid, IX, pp. 285 ff.
17. *DMO*, p. 4.
18. *EI*, III, pp. 351 ff.
19. *IE*, p. 302.
20. *JBORS*, XIV, pp. 292 ff.
21. *DMO*, p. 16.
22. *EI*, VI, pp. 137 ff.
23. *DMO*, p. 18.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. *CAI*, p. 366.
27. *IO*, I, pt. 2, p. 152.
28. *JBORS*, XVI, p. 74.
29. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 330.
30. *IE*, p. 145.
31. Ḍāhala-*maṇḍala* is described in the Malkapuram inscription as occupying a tract of land lying between the Ganges and the Narmada (*asti viśvambharāsāraḥ kamalakula mandiraṁ / Bhāgīrathī-Narmmadayor=mmadhye Ḍāhala-maṇḍalam //*
32. *HB*, pp. 24-5 ; *IE*, pp. 381 ff.
33. S. N. Rajaguru (*JBORS*, XVI, p. 187) propounds an untenable view on the origin of the term Koṅgoda as he says, 'The name Koṅgada might have been derived from the conjunction as well as the contraction of words Kaliṅga and Oḍa. The country which was situated

between Kaliṅga and Oḍa was usually, according to the Sandhi rules, called by the name of 'Kaliṅgoḍa' and that consequently changed into Kaṅgoda and Koṅgoda respectively'. N. K. Sahu (*UUHO*, I, p. 111) holds that Koṅgoda is derived from the conjunction of Kaliṅga and Oḍa (Oḍra), and is further of opinion that the term may also be interpreted as signifying the 'land of honey'. Koṅgu in Tamil means honey.

34. *EI*, VI, pp. 143-6.
35. Ibid.
36. *IO*, I, pt. 2, p. 160.
37. Ibid.
38. *DMO*, p. 6.
39. *JASB*, LXXIII, pp. 282 ff.
40. *EI*, XXIII, pp. 122.
41. Ibid, XXIX, pp. 38 ff.
42. *DMO*, p. 6.
43. *EI*, XXIV, pp. 148 ff; *OHRJ*, II, pp. 17-19.
44. *EI*, IX, pp. 281-87.
45. *DMO*, p. 6.
46. *EI*, XXI, pp. 34-41.
47. Ibid, XIX, pp. 265-70.
48. *DMO*, p. 6.
49. *JKHRS*, II, pp. 59 ff.
50. *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 218-22.
51. Ibid, p. 218.
52. *JBORS*, XVI, pp. 176-88.
53. *IO*, I, pt. 2, p. 229.
54. *DMO*, p. 4.
55. *EI*, III, pp. 41-50.
56. *DMO*, p. 6.
57. *JAHRS*, X, p. 9.
58. Ibid.
59. *OHRJ*, II, pp. 20 ff.
60. *DMO*, p. 1.
61. Cunningham (*AGI*, p. 513) and Fergusson unanimously

identify the country with the region around the Chilka lake. According to R. D. Banerji (*HO*, I, p. 139) the Koṅgoda division began to the south of the Chilka lake near Chhatrapur. There remains little room for doubt about the fallacy of these observations. H. K. Mahtab (*HO*, p. 93) traces the extent of Koṅgoda-*maṇḍala* on the evidence of the find-spots of the copper-plate grants of the Śailodbhava kings. He refers in this context to Buguda, Purushottamapur, Sumandala, Nibina, Kondedda, Tekkali, Chandeswar, Purikud, Banpur, Puri, Khurda, etc. which, as he points out, are situated between the Mahanadi and the Rishikulya. 'Hence with certain definiteness', to quote his own words, 'it can be concluded that the Koṅgoda-*Maṇḍala* extended from the Rishikulya in the south to the Mahanadi in the north'.

62. *YCTI*, II, pp. 197-98.
63. *IHQ*, VII, p. 665.
64. *HO*, I, p. 79.
65. Ibid ; *PIHC*, 1949, pp. 101 ff ; *UUHO*, I, p. 112.
66. *IO*, I, pt. 2, p. 160.
67. *DMO*, p. 18.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid, p. 16.
71. The kingdom over which Vyāghrarāja ruled is described in the Allahabad record as Mahākāntāra. Its identification with the Jharkhand area has been proposed by G. Ramdas (*IHQ*, I, p. 684). Some scholars are inclined to locate Mahākāntāra in the Jeypore forest region in Koraput district (*JAHRS*, I, p. 228 ; *EHNI*, p. 185).
72. *DMO*, p. 4.
73. Ibid, p. 6.
74. According to N. K. Sahu (*UUHO*, I, p. 109) Śrī-Pṛthivī-Mahārāja (second half of the sixth century A.D.) and Bhānudatta had their headquarters at this place.
75. B. Misra (*OUBK*, p. 89) identifies Guheśvarapāṭaka with

Godhaneswar Pattana, while K. C. Panigrahi (Candrikā, I, pt. VII, p. 241 ; *CBSKO*, p. 22) locates it at Guhira Tikra, both lying in the outskirts of modern Jajpur.

76. *OUBK*, p. 82.
77. *BO*, p. 86.
78. *Vanaparvan* / XXCV. 6. *Tato Vaitaraṇīṁ gatvā sarva-pāpa pramocanīṁ / Virajā-tīrtham=āsādya virājate yathā śāsī //*
79. R. L. Mitra, *Buddha Gaya*, pp. 10 ff.
80. Mention is made in the *Virajā-Māhātmya* of some shrines, called Kusumeśvara, Laliteśvara and Daṇḍīśvara, none of which exists at the present time. The names of these shrines seem to have owed their origin to Kusumahāra, Lalitahāra and Daṇḍīmahādevī of the Bhauma Kara family.
81. The city of Virajā finds mention in a number of copper-plate grants like the Parlakimedi plates (*IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 54 ff.) of Śrī Pṛthivī Mahārāja, Soro Plates of Bhānu-datta (*EI*, XXIII, pp. 203-4) and Ganjam plate (*IHQ*, XII, pp. 429 ff.) of the Gaṅga king Jayavarman.
82. *CBKSO*, p. 15. The origin of the verse cannot be traced.
83. *OHRJ*, XIII, p. 30.

Chapter III

UTKALA AND OḌRA

Boundaries of Utkala

The coastal region of Orissa, which, as we have already seen, bore the name of Tosalī from about the latter half of the sixth century A.D., was also known as Utkala[1] and Oḍra[2] or Uḍra. The fact that the Classical writers like Pliny[3] and Ptolemy do not mention these two terms may be indicative of their late origin. The *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and Pāli texts mention Utkala and Oḍra but hardly give us any information about their location. The existence of Utkala as a kingdom in the fourth and fifth centuries is proved beyond doubt by Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*. It is stated in this work that the Ikṣvāku king Raghu after having crossed the river Kapiśā reached the Utkala country and finally went to Kaliṅga[4] (*sa tīrtvā Kapiśāṁ sainyair=baddha-dvirada-setubhiḥ | Utkal=ādarśita-pathaḥ Kaliṅg=ābhimukhaṁ yayau ||*). Accordingly, Utkala appears to have been situated between the Kapiśā (the river Kasai in Midnapore district of West Bengal) and the land of the Kaliṅgas. But how far Utkala extended in the south cannot be determined since the northern limit of Kaliṅga at the time of Kālidāsa is not precisely known.

Utkala and Oḍra Identical

The earliest epigraphic reference to Utkaladeśa is traced in the Midnapore plate of Somadatta[5] which includes Daṇḍabhukti within its jurisdiction (*sahitām=Utkaladeṣena Daṇḍabhuktiṁ*). Daṇḍabhukti comprised parts of the South-West Bengal and Balasore district while its name seems to be preserved in Dantan in Midnapore district. Thus in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. Utkala denoted at least parts

of Midnapore and Balasore districts. It is worth noticing that almost the same region is called Oḍra-*viṣaya* in one of the Soro copper-plate grants of the same monarch.[6] It records the grant of the village of Aḍayāra situated in Sarephāhāra-*viṣaya* in Uttara-Tosalī, which again formed a part of Oḍra-*viṣaya* (*Oḍra-viṣaye Uttara-Tosalyāṁ Sarephāhāra-viṣaye*). As Sarephāhāra is the same as Soro, Oḍra-*viṣaya* may safely be assumed to comprise at least Balasore district. In other words, Utkala and Oḍra-*viṣaya* denoted the same region in the first half of the seventh century A.D.

Hiuen Tsang's Account of Oḍra

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited Orissa about A.D. 638. He does not mention Utkala but speaks of the U-cha or Oḍra country, which according to him, lay to the south-west of Karṇasuvarṇa and north of Koṅgoda. The country was 7000 *li* in circuit; the capital city was about 20 *li* round. On the south-west frontier of the country was a great mountain on which stood the famous Pu-se-po-k'i-li, i.e., Puṣpagiri monastery. 'Near the shore of the ocean in the south-east of this country was the city Che-li-ta-lo (Charitra ?), about 20 *li* in circuit which was a thoroughfare and resting place for sea-going traders and strangers from distant lands'[7]. R. P. Chanda[8] opined that Jajpur in Cuttack district was the capital of the country and he identified the Puṣpagiri with the Ratnagiri. But the identification of the Ratnagiri with the Puṣpagiri seems to be quite unlikely in view of the fact that, first, it cannot be placed on the south-west frontier of Oḍra, and secondly, the discovery of a few seals[9] from the Ratnagiri, containing the legend, *Ratnagiri-mahāvihāra* conclusively shows that the place did not bear any such designation as Puṣpagiri. Cunningham[10] located this rock monastery at the famous Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills lying five miles to the west of Bhubaneswar, but this is unwarranted as these hills were known as Kumārī and Kumāra hills respectively, as proved by the inscriptions found therein. R. L. Mitra[11] identified

Pu-se-po-k'i-li with Dhauli on the ground that the capital of the country was located at Bhubaneswar to the south-west of which is situated the Dhauli hill, but this suggestion appears to be equally untenable. R. D. Banerji[12] adhers to the contention of Chanda that Jajpur was the capital of Oḍra and Puṣpagiri was the same as Ratnagiri. B. Acharya[13] placed the monastery at a hill called Phula Changudi near Sitavinjhi in Sadar sub-division of Keonjhar district. It is evident that the Oḍra country during the time of the Chinese pilgrim was highly extensive in area, being 7000 *li* in circuit and as such the Phula Changudi can hardly be located in the south-west frontier of this territory. N. K. Sahu[14] is of opinion that the monastery may be located at the present Phulbani-Ghumsur region. The location of Caritrà has likewise been a subject of controversy. The place has been identified by Cunningham[15], Fergusson and Waddel[16] with Puri, Tamluk and a village, now defunct, on a channel of the river Mahanadi about fifteen miles below Cuttack, respectively.

What is really then the extent of the Oḍra country, as depicted by Hiuen Tsang ? According to Cunningham, it was limited to the valley of the Mahanadi and the lower course of the river Suvarnarekha, being bounded in the west by Gondwana, in the north by the wild hill tracts of Jashpur and Singhbhum, in the east by the sea and in the south by Ganjam. It is doubtful whether the Oḍra country extended in the west as far as Sambalpur district, since the said area was included in Dakṣiṇa Kosala. At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit of Orissa the Dattas were ruling over the Balasore-Cuttack-Puri region as semi-independent kings and it is quite likely that their dominions have been included within the Oḍra country by the Chinese traveller.

Location of Oḍra in Upper Orissa

In the centuries that followed we find a significant change in the denotation of the term Oḍra. It no longer signified

the coastal region of Orissa, but indicated an extensive area which intervened between Dakṣiṇa Kosala and the lower Orissa. In the second quarter of the ninth century A.D.[17] was founded the Bhauma Kara kingdom which in the course of time embraced the entire sea-coast from Midnapore to Ganjam. In their copper-plate grants this territory was never called Oḍra-*viṣaya* or Oḍra-deśa, but was clearly designated as either Utkala or Tosalī. Thus the Chaurasi plate of Śivakaradeva[18] II describes Śubhākaradeva, the Bhauma Kara king, as the lord of Utkala (*Utkul=endra*) and refers to the Bhaumas as belonging to the Utkala race (*Utkala-kula*). The *Brahma Purāṇa*[19] uses the term Utkala in the sense of the extensive coastal region of Orissa, which is extolled as a holy country and which could boast of the sacred cities of Viraja Kṣetra and Puruṣottama Kṣetra. Viraja Kṣetra is undoubtedly modern Jajpur, the capital of the Bhauma Kara kings, and Puruṣottama Kṣetra, Puri. The inclusion of Puri in Utkala is again alluded to in the *Saṭpañcāśaddeśabibhāga* section of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*. About the second quarter of the eleventh century[20] the Somavaṁśīs succeeded the Bhauma Karas in the coastal region which they held under their occupation till they were ousted by Coḍagaṅgadeva of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty at the beginning of the twelfth century. Like their predecessors they were known as the lords of Utkala.[21] The Bhubaneswar Stone inscription of Narasiṁha I, grandson of Rājarāja III (A.D. 1198-1211), records the building of a Viṣṇu temple by Candukā, sister of Narasiṁha, at Ekāmra in Utkala-*viṣaya*. Ekāmra is identified with modern Bhubaneswar. It would then follow from the above discussion that during the reign of the Bhauma Kara, the Somavaṁśī and the Imperial Gaṅga kings, the coastal region of Orissa was called Utkala, as it was also known as Tosalī and Kaliṅga, but no part of it is known to have borne the name of Oḍra.

During this period Oḍra signified a wide stretch of territory lying between Dakṣiṇa Kosala in the west and the coastal region of Orissa in the east. A number of epigraphic records

of the contemporary period seem to imply this. The Narsinghpur charter of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta[22] mentions the villages of Kontalaṇḍā and Lovākaraḍā as being situated in Airāvaṭṭa-*maṇḍala* which again formed a part of the Oḍri or Oḍra country. The villages[23] have been identified with Kantilo (20°22″ N. 85°14″ E.) in Khandpara and Karada (20°28″ N. 85°24″ E.) in Baramba, and the *maṇḍala* with the region comprising the southern portion of Dhenkanal district, the western part of Cuttack district and almost the whole of Nayagarh sub-division of Puri district. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription[24] shows that the Somavaṁśī ruler Janamejaya I exterminated a king of the Oḍra country who has been identified with Raṇabhañja of Khiñjali-*maṇḍala*, which denoted during the reign of the early Bhañjas the Sonpur-Baud region with Dhṛtipura of unknown identity as its capital. The Upalada copper-plate grant of Rāṇaka Rāmadeva[25] of the Tailapa royal family (c. the 11th century) speaks of the Nasunda hill as the crest-jewel of Oḍra-deśa. S. N. Rajaguru[26] has located the hill near the Nandava forest in the erstwhile Parlakimedi Estate. A charter of Mahābhavagupta Yayāti[27] locates the village of Śilābhañjapāṭi in the Oḍra country. The place was evidently founded by Śilābhañja of the Bhañja dynasty. This Śilābhañja may be identified with Śilābhañja II, a successor of Raṇabhañja (the third quarter of the tenth century A.D.) and since he flourished at a time when the Bhañja kingdom comprised the northern portion of Ganjam district, the place has to be sought in the same area. It would then appear from the above discussions that during the period under review the Oḍra country extended from the Mahanadi in the north to Parlakimedi taluk in the south, and from *Dakṣiṇa* Kosala in the west to Tosalī in the east. The mention of Oḍḍa-*viṣaya*, 'the land which was difficult to approach on account of its dense forest defence', along with the neighbouring countries of Śakkarakkoṭṭam (Citrakūṭa or Citrakota in Bastar), Madura-*maṇḍalam*, Māśuṇideśa (to the north-west of Veṅgī) and Kośalaināḍu (Dakṣiṇa Kosala) in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Cola[28] also points to the same conclusion.

Oḍra as the name of the entire Orissa

At a later time, however, Oḍra came to denote the entire Oriya speaking area. Sāralādāsa in his *Mahābhārata* refers to Jajnagar as a part of Oḍra-rāṣṭra.[29] It may be noted here that still today we come across a race of agriculturists known as Ods, who mainly concentrate in the region around Khurda, and if the suggestion of R. L. Mitra[30] is taken to be valid, this race represents the remnants of the ancient Oḍra people.[31]

Administrative Divisions of Utkala and Oḍra

We may now turn to the various administrative divisions within Utkala and Oḍra. An important *maṇḍala* of Oḍra was Khiñjali-*maṇḍala* which finds frequent mention in the inscriptions of the Bhañja kings. From the mention of Ubhaya-Khiñjali-*maṇḍala*, as found in some of the Bhañja records, it is clear that Khiñjali was divided into two parts. It is worth noting that Khiñjali is sometime described as a country, as in the Ganjam plates of Vidyādharabhañja[32] (*samasta-Khiñjali-deśādhipati*). Opinions differ on the actual extent of this administrative unit. Hiralal[33] is of opinion that the Khiñjali country corresponded to Keonjhar district. He observes: 'The aspirate of the first letter disappeared, a soft *o* after *i* crept in after the Oriya mode of pronunciation and the *l* at the end changed into *r*, which transformed the original name into Keonjhari or Keonjhar.' In support of his contention Hiralal[34] further says: 'The latest *Imperial Gazetteer* (Vol. LXV, p. 202) states, 'Keonjhar is divided into two widely dissimilar tracts. Lower Keonjhar, being a region of valleys and low lands, while Upper Keonjhar includes mountainous high lands.' These are natural divisions which must have existed, as they do today, during the Bhañja rule, and the word '*ubhaya*' meaning 'both' found in the records in connection with Khiñjali not only justifies its use, but affords a clue for the identification of the country. Local chroniclers also

support the fact that Keonjhar was ruled by the Bhañja *rājās*.

The view of Hiralal, contradicted as it is by the internal evidences of the Bhañja inscriptions, can no longer be maintained. R. D. Banerji believes that the Khiñjali country lay along the upper reaches of the river Mahanadi, comprising the old States of Ganpur, Bonai, Bonra, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Patna and Karond with a portion of the district of Sambalpur. He is further of opinion that the river Mahanadi divided the country into two parts. B. Misra[35] holds the view that the southern Khiñjali may be identified with Khijaripara in Baud to the south of the Mahanadi and the northern Khiñjali with Hijjali in Angul to the north of the same river ; but the latter suggestion is in conflict with the fact that none of the places and rivers mentioned in the copper-plate grants of the Bhañja rulers can be located in the region. In spite of the disagreement among scholars on the exact location of Khiñjali-*maṇḍala* it may be said that from the consideration of the location of the villages mentioned in the Bhañja inscriptions it is possible to form with a fair degree of certainty an idea about the extent of this division.

The Baud plates[36] of the year 26 tell us that Raṇabhañja I ruled over *Ubhaya*-Khiñjali which included the village Vāllaśṛṅga which lay to the south of the Mahānadī and east of the Sālaṅkī and was a part of Khātiyā-*viṣaya*. The village of Vāllaśṛṅga[37] has been identified with Balasinga near Baud on the confluence of the Mahanadi and the Salki, and the district of Khātiyā with the Machhiakhanda pargana of the old Baud State. The donor of the Baud grant[38] of the year 54 had sovereignty over Khiñjali-*maṇḍala* which included the village of Koṇatinthi in the district of Khātiyā. Koṇatinthi is the same as present Kontuani about two miles south of Baud. Again the villages mentioned in the Kumurukela grant[39] of Śatrubhañja have been located in the old Sonpur State. The villages mentioned in the Antirigram charter[40] of Yaśobhañja, who called himself *samasta-Khiñjali-deś=ādhipati*, have been

placed in Ganjam district. In the Chakradharpur charter of Neṭṭabhañja the village donated therein is stated to be situated in Ramalavva-*viṣaya* of Khiñjali-*maṇḍala* and this Ramalavva has been located in Aska taluk of Ganjam district. The Jurada grant[41] of Neṭṭabhañjadeva, issued from a place called Kumārapura, records the gift by the king of the village of Jurāḍā in Gaḍa-*viṣaya* which was a sub-division of Khiñjali-*maṇḍala* (*Khiñjali-maṇḍala-pratibaddha-Gaḍa-viṣayīya-Jurāḍā-grāme*). Gaḍa-*viṣaya* is evidently identical with Khiñjali-Gaḍa-*viṣaya* of the Antirigram plates of Jayabhañjadeva while the gift village Jurāḍā may be located at the place of the same name in Kodola taluk of Ganjam district.[42] One of the Ganjam charters of Neṭṭabhañja mentions the village of Rātaṅga which has been identified with Rottongo in Ghumsur taluk of Ganjam district. Another charter of the same king records the grant of the village of Macchāḍa in Macchāḍa-*khaṇḍa*. Hiralal[43] identifies the village with Machhgaon in Cuttack district, and Macchāḍa-*khaṇḍa* with the region around Machhgaon, but C. R. Krishnamacharlu[44] is inclined to locate the place at Majhigaon in Berhampur taluk. In view of the fact that the places mentioned in other charters of Neṭṭabhañja and his successor are all located in Ganjam district the latter identification appears to be preferable. Without citing any further evidence it may suffice here to state that Khiñjali-*maṇḍala* was quite an extensive area which comprised the old feudatory States of Sonpur and Baud and parts of present Ganjam district. An echo of the old Khiñjali country can still be traced in Kinjili which is the name of a village between Aska and Berhampur.

If we are to rely on the epigraphic evidence, it is almost pretty certain that during the reign of the early Bhañjas the Sonpur-Baud region alone was known as Khiñjali-*maṇḍala* with Dhṛtipura of unknown identity as its capital. The inscriptions of both Raṇabhañja and his father, claiming lordship over Khiñjali, have all been issued from Dhṛtipura.[45] The findspots of, and the places mentioned in these records, are,

without a single exception, within this restricted area. The rivers like the Tela, Vyāghra and Sālaṅkī mentioned in these charters are even today known by the same appellations and are flowing through the same region. But sometime afterwards, the Bhañjas, being expelled from the north probably by the Somavaṁśīs, were forced to move southwards, establishing themselves in the northern part of Ganjam district which was also named as Khiñjali. Neṭṭabhañja, *alias* Kalyāṇakalaśa, son of Raṇabhañja, and his descendants issued their charters from the city of Vañjulvaka, identified by B. Misra[46] with Banjamia in Ghumsur taluk and these records have been usually found in Ganjam district. Evidences seem to imply that with the withdrawal of the Bhañja rule from the Sonpur-Baud region, parts of Khiñjali-*maṇḍala* if not the entire unit, were not called by their original name, but were given a different designation like Gandhaṭapāṭi-*maṇḍala*. Notice may be taken, in this connection, of the Nivina grant[47] of the Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, which records the gift of a village named Nivinā in Uttarapalli-*viṣaya* of Gandhaṭapāṭi-*maṇḍala*. It is interesting to note that the same *viṣaya* is mentioned in the Taspaikera charter[48] of Raṇabhañja as being included in Khiñjali-*maṇḍala*.

Another such administrative unit was Yamagartta-*maṇḍala*, which finds mention in the Dhenkanal grant[49] of Jayasiṁha of an unknown family as well as all the copper-plate grants of the Tuṅga rulers, and is supposed to correspond to the old Pallahara State and its neighbourhood. B. Misra[50] points out that the name Yamagartta is probably preserved either in Jamagadia (20°30″ N. 85°5″ E.) in Angul or in Jomurdi (21°30″ N. 85°14″ E.) in the Pallahara State. Inscriptions mention the following localities as being situated within this *maṇḍala*:

1. Tuṅkera. This place is believed to be represented by modern Tonkour (21°25″ N. 85°14″ E.) in Pallahara.[51]

2. Veṇḍuṅga. B. Misra[52] identifies it with Balanga (21°44″ N. 84°47″ E.) in Bonai.

3. Toro. This village may be located in Thorakota (21°20″ N. 85°2″ E.) in Pallahara.[53]

4. Koñjari. The place may remind one of the present town of Keonjhar, the headquarters of the district of the same name, which is locally called Kenjhara.[54]

As it has been pointed out, 'the practice of recording the name of the place of issue in the grants was not in vogue in Yamagartta-*maṇḍala*'.[55] Consequently, its capital town cannot be properly located at present. The Dhenkanal plate of Jayasiṁha was issued from a place which is described as '*Mandākinī-kūla-vāsaka*'. It is thus indicated that the capital of Yamagartta-*maṇḍala* was situated on the bank of the river Mandākinī which has rightly been identified with the present Mankara which rises in the western part of Keonjhar district[56] and passes through the old Pallahara State till it is united with the Brahmani.[57]

The mention of Kodālaka-*maṇḍala* is made in all the grants of the Śulki kings which are generally unearthed in the old Dhenkanal State and its neighbourhood. An idea about its extent may be obtained from the identification of the different localities which are said to have belonged to this administrative unit. Some of these are as follows :

1. Candrapura. According to the Dhenkanal grant[58] of Jayastambha the village of Candrapura formed a part of a bigger unit called Koṅkula-*khaṇḍa* which itself was situated within the jurisdiction of Goyila-*viṣaya*. These three places have been identified with Chandpur (20°47″ N. 85°25″ E.), Kankulu (20°47″ N. 85°17″ E.) and Goyilu (20°45″ N. 85°29″ E.) in present Dhenkanal district respectively.

2. Kaṅkavirā. The place is believed to be represented by modern Konkari (20°58″ N. 85° E.).

3. Jarāgrāma. It has been located at Jarapada in Dhenkanal district.[59]

4. Jharavāḍa. It may be identified with Jharaveda[60] (21°11″ N. 85°25″ E.).

5-7. Siṅga, Lolapura and Kolāmpaka. These places

evidently correspond to Singara (20°50″ N. 85°8″ E.), Lonipara (20°53″ N. 84°56″ E.) and Kolambi (23° N. 83°41″ E.) respectively.[61]

B. Misra opines that 'Kodālaka-*maṇḍala* extended in the north-westerly direction up to the confluence of the Sankha and the Palamara' whereas the hills 'bordering the Hindol State may be supposed to have formed' its southern boundary.

The capital of Kodālaka-*maṇḍala* was at Kodālaka, which is the place of issue of all the Śulki copper-plate grants. The place is identified with Koalu (20°56″ N. 85°19″ E.) which has yielded architectural remains of the early mediaeval period.

The *janapada* of Oḍra included Airāvaṭṭa-*maṇḍala*. The kings of the local Nanda dynasty ruled over Airāvaṭṭa-*maṇḍala* with Jayapura as their capital. The capital city, which appears to have been so named after Jayānanda, the earliest known ruler of the house, is usually identified with a village of the same name in the old Dhenkanal State. B. Misra[62] rejects the identification on the ground that the place 'does not seem to be of much antiquity' and accepts the claim of Nandapur (20°44″ N. 85° E.) in Angul to be regarded as the place of residence of the Nanda rulers.

The mention of Airāvaṭṭa-*maṇḍala* is found in all the copper-plate grants of the Nanda family, in addition to the Narsingpur charter[63] of Udyotakeśarī. The last record mentions the villages Kontalaṇḍā and Lovākaraḍā as being situated within this limit, and they have been located at Kantilo (20°22″ N. 85°14″ E.) in Khandapara and Karada (20°28″ N. 85°24″ E.) in Baramba respectively.[64] Some of the villages within this *maṇḍala*, as known from the Nanda inscriptions, were the following :

1. Siloḍā. This ancient village seems to be the same as Siridi (20°45″ N. 85°9″ E.) in the old Dhenkanal State.[65]

2. Iṇḍeḍḍā in Jīloṇḍā-*viṣaya*. The district reminds one of modern Jilinda in present Daspalla sub-division of Puri district.[66]

3. Lambeva in Potaḍā-*viṣaya*. The village is identical with Limbu (20°28″ N. 85°6″ E.) in the old Narsingpur State, and the district with Potala (20°42″ N. 86°14″ E.) in the former Hindol State.[67]

It may, however, suffice here to state, without trying to identify the other villages, as mentioned in the records, that Airāvaṭṭa-*maṇḍala* was an extensive territory, which, comprised the 'southern part of Dhenkanal district, the western part of Cuttack district, and almost the whole of Nayagarh subdivision of Puri district'.[68] The hill-range on the southern border of the old Ranpur and Nyayagarh States probably marked its southern limit. The name Airāvaṭṭa[69] is supposed to be preserved in that of modern Ratagarh in Banki in Cuttack district.

Daṇḍabhukti-*maṇḍala*, which was an important administrative unit within Utkala, rose into prominence in the first half of the seventh century A.D. when for sometime it was being ruled over by *Mahāpratīhāra* Śubhakīrti, who was a subordinate chief under king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa. Sometime afterwards *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Somadatta,[70] who likewise served under the same Bengal ruler, was entrusted with the administration of both Daṇḍbhukti-*maṇḍala* and Utkala. Two copperplate grants[71] of the Bhauma Kara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī from Baud mention Daṇḍabhukti-*maṇḍala* as being attached to *Uttara*-Tosalī and having contained Tāmala-*khaṇḍa* and Dakṣiṇa-*khaṇḍa* districts. Of these, the first has been identified with Tamluk, and the second with Dakinmal, both being mentioned as parganas in the Mughal revenue[72] accounts, in Midnapore district., The location of Dakṣiṇa-*khaṇḍa* is uncertain, though it is clear from the name that it lay to the south of Tamluk, comprising, in all probability, a few villages in the northern part of Balasore district. At the time of issue of the Baud plates Daṇḍabhukti-*maṇḍala* was placed under the charge of *Mahāmaṇḍal=ādhipati* Śrī-Maṅgala-Kalaśa who may have been connected with a branch of the Bhañja family.

Daṇḍabhukti-*maṇḍala* did not remain included within Orissa for long, for we learn from the Irda copper-plate,[73] assigned to the latter half of the tenth century on palæographical grounds, that a *maṇḍala* of the same name was included in Vardhamāna-*bhukti* and ruled by the Kamboja king Nayapāla. Shortly afterwards its link with Vardhamāna-*bhukti* was severed, and it is reckoned in the Tirumalai inscription, without being called a *maṇḍala*, as a chiefship under the name of Daṇḍabutti, distinct from the Northern and Southern Rāḍhā. The Tamil inscriptions mention Dharmapāla as the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D.

That Daṇḍabhukti was a chiefship even in the second half of the eleventh or the first quarter of the twelfth century is attested to by the commentary on Sandhyākara Nandi's *Rāmacarita*. Its ruler Jayasiṁha destroyed the army of the Utkala king Karṇa-keśarī (*Utkaleśa-Karṇa-keśarīsarid = vallabho*) and enjoyed the position of the *Cakravartīn* in the south.[74]

Roughly speaking, Daṇḍabhukti comprised parts of South-West Bengal and Balasore district, while its name seems to be preserved in Dantan in Midnapore district.

Mention may next be made of Khijjiṅga-*maṇḍala*, the reference to which is met frequently in a few Bhañja copper-plate grants, assignable to about the tenth century A.D. This division is known to have included, among others, the following places :

Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa. This place which was the headquarters of the realm, has been identified with the modern village of Khiching in Mayurbhanj district, which on account of its close proximity to three rivers like the Khairabhandan, the Kantakhair and the Vaitarani, occupied an important strategic position, 'conducive to its growth and prosperity'.

Jambupadraka. This is no doubt the same as modern Jamda in Mayurbhanj district.

Timandira. The place has been located at the present site of Tendra.

Koraṇḍiyā. Scholars have identified this place with Kanjia in Mayurbhanj district.

Devakuṇḍa. This reminds one of a village of the same name located in the same district.

If the identification of these places of the Bhañja inscriptions, as suggested above, be accepted, it would follow that Khijjiṅga-*maṇḍala* comprised Mayurbhanj district, and probably also parts of Keonjhar.

Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa

Among the cities of Oḍra mention may be made of Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa. The city, the earliest mention of which is traced in the Bamanaghati plates[75] of Raṇabhañja II, where it is described as the permanent abode of the king, was the capital of some of the Bhañja kings and is certainly modern Khiching,[76] about ninety miles from Baripada in Mayurbhanj district. The place has yielded numerous antiquities about which N. N. Basu[77] remarks :

> 'The superior workmanship of these has indeed been a startling discovery for us. The faces of the goddesses beam with radiant smiles which seem to be a realization on stone of the best dreams of poets and artists. The smiles...look as fresh and soft as newly blown buds...and illustrate that motherly grace which is a pure Indian conception and is quite distinct from what we find in the Italian painters' Madonna.'

Archæologists believe that some of the antiquities of Khiching are earlier than the time of the Bhañja rulers. It is not impossible that the site was the capital of a royal family, most probably of the Māna rulers, in the pre-Bhañja epoch. H. K. Mahtab[78] draws our attention to a place called Viratagada, which is situated not far from Khiching and has yielded the ruins of a fort.

Che-li-ta-lo

Notice may also be taken of the famous port of Che-li-ta-lo. This famous port, which flourished on the Orissan coast at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit, was situated in the south-western part of the Wu-tu country and was a remarkable seat of Mahāyāna Buddhism by the seventh century A.D. As the Chinese pilgrim testifies, the city was surrounded by strong and lofty walls beyond which there were five great convents with multi-storeyed towers. Its religious importance apart, Che-li-ta-lo was also a famous emporium of trade and 'it was a thoroughfare and resting place for sea-going traders and strangers from distant lands.'[79] But unfortunately the location of this place is far from certain. Cunningham[80] derives this term from Sanskrit Caritrapura, identifying it with present Puri. Waddel[81] restores Che-li-ta-lo as Citrotpalā which is the name of a branch of the Mahanadi. and locates the place at the site of an old port near the mouth of this river at Nendra. Rhys Davids[82] reconciles the two theories by accepting Cunningham's restoration as Caritra and agreeing with Waddel on its location near Nendra. The port has further been identified by some scholars on the authority of the Oriya *Mahābhārata*, composed by the renowned poet Sāralādāsa in the fifteenth century A.D., with Candrabhāgā, which according to the text was a famous port on the sea-shore, and contained a famous temple of the Sun, but the existence of a port of this name has not yet been indubitably proved.[83]

Kodaloka

Kodaloka or Kodaloka was probably the capital of the Śulki kings and it is the place from which most of the inscriptions of the dynasty were issued. It was a *pāṭaka*, town, in the *maṇḍala* of that name, a part of it being called Sadā-Śivapura. The place has been located at the present site of Koalu[84] in Dhenkanal sub-division of Dhenkanal district on the left bank of the river Brahmani. The place has yielded rich antiquities

of historical interest including many old temples, big and small, mostly of Śiva.

Jayapura

Jayapura, which was the capital as well as the place of issue of the inscriptions of the Nanda kings and so named after king Jayananda, has generally been identified with the village of the same name in Dhenkanal district.[85]

Vañjulvaka

Vañjulvaka was the capital and place of issue of the inscriptions of the descendants of Raṇabhañja who were driven from Baud and its neighbourhood to Ganjam district in consequence of their reverses at the hands of the Somavaṁsī.[86] Its exact location still remains unknown but since the donated villages of the later Bhañja rulers are all located in Ganjam district, the city appears to have been situated within this region, most probably in its northern part, as suggested by D. C. Sircar.[87]

REFERENCES

1. Utkala has often been taken to mean the glorious country or the land of the bird-killers, or, as John Beams thinks, the outlying territory (*ut+kala=kalita*=cut off). H. K. Mahtab (*HO*, p. 1) thinks Utkala to be a Sanskritic word, derived from Canarese *Okkal* meaning a cultivator of the soil. Some, on the other hand, maintain that Utkala is derived from *Uttara* Kaliṅga, but they have not adduced either any evidence in favour of the use of *Uttara* Kaliṅga in any inscription or literary text, or any philological ground for such a derivation.

2. The question of the origin of the word Oḍra is a highly controversial one. Uḍra is sometime interpreted to be an Aryan term originating from Sanskrit '*unda*' which means dirt (*unda*+affix *rak*). According to Lassen the term means the northern country, being a *Prākṛt* form from Sanskrit *uttara* or *auttara* (north). Mahtab (*HO*, p. 1) thinks the term to be a Sanskritic word being derived from Telugu '*Oḍḍisa*' (labourer). Some scholars, on the contrary, maintain that the term *Oḍra* is of Dravidian origin, being derived from the root *oḍu* which means to run away. This suggestion would make the Oḍras a run-away people.
3. Pliny in his *Natural History* mentions the Oretes as a people of India in whose country was situated Mount Malcus. Some scholars have identified them with the Oḍras, but this is doubtful. N. K. Sahu (*UUHO*, I, p. 100) opines that the existence of Utkala as a political entity dates back to the day of the Buddha.
4. *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 38.
5. *JASB*, XI, pp. 7-8.
6. *EI*, XXIII, pp. 197ff.
7. *YCTI*, II, p. 194.
8. *MASI*, No. 44 ; *Explorations in Orissa*, p. 6.
9. *UUHO*, I, p. 143.
10. *AGI*, p. 510.
11. *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, p. 59.
12. *HO*, I, p. 137.
13. *BO*, p. 49.
14. Ibid, p. 50.
15. *AGI*, p. 587.
16. *PASB* (1892).
17. The initial year of the Bhauma rule has become a controversial issue among scholars. D. C. Sircar (*IE*, pp. 297ff) fixed it at A.D. 831, Bhandarkar (*Bhandarkar's List*, Nos. 1404, 1413, 1416, etc.), A.D. 606, R. C. Majumdar, A.D., 750 or 775 and N. K. Sahu (Hunter,

A History of Orissa, II, p. 347), A.D. 736. The problem has been discussed at length in a subsequent chapter.

18. *JBORS*, XIV, pp. 292ff.
19. Chapter XXVIII.
20. *IE*, p. 301.
21. *EI*, XI, p. 142 ; *IC*, III, pp. 121-27.
22. *JBORS*, XVII, pp. 1-24.
23. *DMO*, p. 72.
24. *JRASB*, XII, p. 63.
25. *JAHRS*, X, pp. 166ff.
26. Ibid.
27. *EI*, III, pp. 351-54.
28. Ibid, IX, p. 233.
29. '*Virāṭaparva | Jambudvīpa Bharatakhaṇḍa maṇḍala Oḍrarāṣṭre|bhuvana Jājanagra pūrvadig mahodadhi taṭe|Śetavāhārī nīlasundaragiri madhyasthāne | Mahīndra Candrabhāgā Koṇārka eśānye | sa pure hāsa yakṣara pura bāsenī |*
30. *Antiquities of Orissa*, I, p. 4.
31. In certain texts mention is made of the famous place of Uḍḍīyāna, which was a stronghold of Tāntric Buddhism. H. P. Sastri, B. Bhattacharyya (*Sādhana Mālā*, p. xxxviii ; *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. xxvii) and N. K. Sahu (*BO*, pp. 141ff.) maintain that Uḍḍīyāna is the same as Orissa. R. M. Nath (*JARS*, V, pp. 14ff.) locates the place in Nowgong district of Assam and N. N. Dasgupta (*IHQ*, xi, pp. 142ff.) identifies it with the Chittagong region of Bangla Desh. F. W. Thomas (*JRAS*, 1906, p. 461), Waddel (*Lamaism*, pp. 379ff.), Levi (*JA*, 1915, pp. 105ff.), P. C. Bagchi (*IHQ*, vi, pp. 576ff.) and D. C. Sircar are inclined to identify Uḍḍīyāna with Wuchangna in the Swat valley in Kabul on the north-west of India. The last view has met with the general approval of scholars.
32. *EI*, XVIII, pp. 296-98.
33. Ibid, p. 300.
34. Ibid, p. 288.

35. *JBORS*, XVII, p. 105.
36. *EI*, XII, pp. 325-28.
37. *DMO*, p. 44.
38. *EI*, XII, pp. 322-25.
39. *JBORS*, II, pp. 429-35.
40. *EI*, XVIII, pp. 298-99.
41. Ibid, XXIV, pp. 15ff.
42. Ibid, p. 18.
43. *HO*, I, p. 174.
44. *EI*, XVIII, pp. 301-3.
45. It has been held that 'the rich antiquities of Baud town warrant a strong supposition that this place was the headquarters of the Bhañja kings of Khiñjali-*maṇḍala* before it assumed its Buddhistic significance' (*UUHO*, I, p. 120), but this identification is, by no means, certain.
46. *DMO*, p. 48.
47. *EI*, XI, pp. 96-7.
48. *JBORS*, II, pp. 167-77.
49. *JBORS*, pp. 417-19.
50. *DMO*, p. 24.
51. Ibid, p. 40.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid, p. 23.
56. *UUHO*, I, p. 118.
57. B. Misra (*DMC*, p. 23) is opposed to the suggestion that the Dhenkanal grant was issued from a place on the bank of the Mandākinī. He says, 'There is also no such stream called Mandākinī in the Pallahara State or in its neighbourhood. Apparently Jayasiṁha's grant was not issued from the bank of the Mandākinī. I think, the text quoted above conveys the meaning that Jayasiṁha obtained five great sounds from one residing on the bank of the Mandākinī. As this Mandākinī is distinctly identical with the stream flowing under the same name at

Jajpur, I am inclined to hold that Jayasiṁha was the feudatory of a ruler residing at Jajpur'.

58. *JBORS*, II, pp. 405-9.
59. *UUHO*, I, p. 116. Both H. P. Sastri and R. D. Banerji (*HO*, I, p. 196) agree in identifying this place with a village of that name in Hooghly district, and locating Kodālaka-*maṇḍala* in Northern Orissa and Midnapore district. In support of their contention they observe that a body of cultivators in Midnapore district who call themselves Śulkis, trace their origin to a place named Kedāloka which is no doubt the same as the Kodālaka of the inscriptions. At present there is no evidence to connect the Śulkis with Midnapore district, nor can we accept the identification of Jarā with a place in Hooghly district. This view is based on the wrong presumption that Jharākhaṇḍa in Kodālaka-*maṇḍala* was a part of Rāḍhā. But the Jarāgrāma grant of Raṇastambha reveals that the Brāhmaṇa Pācuka, who was given land in Jarākhaṇḍa, was an original inhabitant of Rāḍhā, which therefore had no territorial connection with the village donated in Kodālaka-*maṇḍala*. Not a single place, mentioned in the Śulki copper-plate grants, can be located in Hooghly and Midnapore districts of West Bengal.
60. *DMO*, p. 28.
61. Ibid, pp. 28-30.
62. *DMO*, p. 34.
63. *JBORS*, XVII, pp. 1-24.
64. Ibid, p. 27.
65. Ibid, p. 36.
66. *EI*, XXIX, p. 186.
67. *DMO*, p. 36.
68. *UUHO*, I, p. 119.
69. *DMO*, p. 34 ; *EI*, XXIX, p. 186.
70. *JASB*, XI (1945), pp. 7-8 ; *Pravāsī* (in Bengali), V.S. 1350, pp. 291ff.

71. *EI*, XXIX, pp. 210 ff.
72. Fifth Report, II, p. 457.
73. *EI*, XXII, pp. 150 ff.
74. *SHAIB*, p. 434.
75. *JASB*, XL, 1871, pp. 161 ff.
76. *HO*, p. 180.
77. *ASM*, p. VII.
78. *HO*, p. 156.
79. *YCTI*, II, p. 194.
80. *AGI*, p. 510.
81. *PASB* (1892).
82. *YCTI*, II, p. 195.
83. N. K. Sahu (*UUHO*, I, p. 142) supports the identification of the Chinese Che-li-ta-lo with Puri as he says :—'The first part of it (i.e., Che-li-ta-lo) *Che-li* may stand for *Siri* and *ta-lo* may be '*tra*'. So the word can be rendered as 'Sri-tra' which indicates Śrīkṣetra, the middle syllable '*kṣe*' being dropped. In this consideration Cunningham's identification of the place with the modern town of Purī is acceptable'. The argument of N. K. Sahu does not appear to be sound philologically.
84. *EI*, XXIX, p. 167.
85. *UUHO*, I, p. 118. B. Misra (*DMO*, p. 36) suggests its identification either with Jamagadia in Angul sub-division or with jomurdi near Pallahara.
86. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 274.
87. Ibid, p. 335.

Chapter IV

DAKṢIṆA KOSALA

Early Notices of Dakṣiṇa Kosala

Kosala, which is sometime spelt as Kośala, was a country of hoary antiquity. The nomenclature appears to suggest that it was the Ikṣvāku princes of Northern India who had colonised the region. It finds mention in several early Indian texts, including some of the *Purāṇas*[1] where it is located in the Vindhyan region (*Vindhya-pṛṣṭha-nivāsinaḥ*). The *Vāyu Purāṇa*[2] mentions five (*pañca*) Kosalas, which comprised, among others the country of Mekala. The *Vanaparvan*[3] of the *Mahābhārata*, while furnishing us with useful information as regards the topography of the country, states :—'This is the road that leads to Vidarbha, while the other one stretches as far as Kosala ; beyond that to the south lies Dakṣiṇāpatha'. The above passage would create the impression that Kosala lay to the north of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Attention may be drawn, in this connection, to the Allahabad pillar inscription[4] of Samudragupta in which Kosala figures as a country of the South. Cunningham gives the alternative name of Mahā-kosala to this country, on account of its wider extent as compared to Uttara Kosala, which, to use the words of H. C. Raychaudhuri[5], 'was bounded on the west by the Gumti, on the south by the Sarpikā or Syandika (Sai) river, on the east by the Sadānīra which separated it from Videha, and on the north by the Nepal hills'. Hiralal[6], who concurs with the above suggestion of Cunningham, points out that in a 'country watered by the Mahānadī containing villages with names such as Mahā Samunda (*samudra*), and bounded by or having in close proximity countries, forests or hills named Mahākāntāra, Mahārāṣṭra, Mahābhoja, Mahāvināyaka (a hill peak in Jaipur *Zamīndārī*), Mahendra (mountain), etc., it

perhaps seemed appropriate to call Dakṣiṇa Kosala Mahākosala, especially when its area exceeded that of Northern Kosala, although Yuan Chwang assigns an equal extent to both'.

Kingdom of the Śarabhapurīyas

It was probably in the closing decades of the fifth century A.D. that the Śarabhapurīyas came to power in Dakṣiṇa Kosala. All the early copper-plate grants of the family were issued from Śarabhapura, whereas, the later ones were issued from Śrīpura. Although the location of the latter place is definitely known, it has not yet been possible to identify the other with any amount of exactitude. Since all the early records of the family have been unearthed in Raipur district, one may safely look for the site of the capital in the same area, most probably in the suburbs of Sirpur.[7]

Kingdom of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs

The Śarabhapurīyas were expelled from the region in the latter half of the sixth century A.D. by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs, who were in occupation of the territory till the rise of the Nalas in the second part of the seventh century A.D. One of the kings of the family, Tivaradeva is described as having acquired the sovereignty of the whole of Kosala in his records, while he is entitled *Kosal=ādhipati* in the legend of his seal. The records of the Pāṇḍuvaśṁīs have mostly been found in the western part of the country. A copper-plate grant, dated in the 57th regnal year of Bālārjuna, mentions two villages, which have been located in the erstwhile Kalahandi State by some[8], and in Sambalpur district by others.[9] It may be safely concluded on the basis of this record that the rule of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs extended over both the eastern and western parts of this *janapada*.

Hiuen Tsang's Account

Hiuen Tsang[10] gives us an interesting account of the topography of Dakṣiṇa Kosala in the first half of the seventh century A.D. It is revealed from his itinerary that the pilgrim came to Kosala from the capital of Kaliṅga after having pursued a north-westerly course of about 1,800 *li* or 300 miles. The pilgrim states :—'This country is about 5000 *li* in circuit ; the frontiers consist of encircling mountain crags ; forests and jungles are found together in succession. The capital is about 40 *li* round ; the soil is rich and fertile, and yields abundant crops. The towns and villages are close together. The population is very dense. The men are tall and black complexioned. The disposition of the people is hard...they are brave and impetuous. There are both heretics and believers here'.[11] The pilgrim further observes :—'There are about one hundred *saṁghārāmas* and somewhat less than 10,000 priests ; they all alike study the teachings of the Great Vehicle. There are about seventy Deva temples, frequented by heretics of different persuasions'.[12]

In his *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 603 Cunningham has defined the boundary of Kosala as follows :—'...we know from the pilgrim's itinerary that it must have been bounded by Ujjain on the north, by Maharashtra on the west, by Orissa on the east, and by Andhra and Kaliṅga on the south. The limits of the kingdom may be roughly described as extending from near Buhanpur on the Tāptī, and Nānder on the Godāvarī, to Ratanpur in Chatisgarh, and to Nowagadha near the source of the Mahānadī'. Elsewhere[13] he, however, offers a much improved account of the territorial limits of Kosala when he says that the country comprised 'the whole of the upper valley of the Mahanadi and its tributaries from the source of the Narbada at Amarakantak, in the north, to the source of the Mahanadi itself near Kanker, on the south, and from the valley of the Wen-Ganga, on the west, to the Hasdo and Jonk rivers on the east'. But these limits, as Cunningham adds, 'have often been extended so as to embrace the hilly

districts of Mandla and Balaghat, on the west up to the banks of the Wen-Ganga and the middle valley of the Mahanadi on the east, down to Sambalpur and Sonpur'.

Capital of Dakṣiṇa Kosala

The exact location of the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kosala during the reign of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings has not yet been satisfactorily determined. Cunningham identifies it with Chanda, while Fergusson[14] proposes Wairagarh as the more likely place. R. D. Banerji[15] identifies it with Vajiraghara, mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription and Vayirākara of the records of the Cola king Kulottuṅga Cola I. R. D. Banerji further points out that the Sanskrit equivalent of the term is Vajrākara or Vajragaḍh, meaning 'Diamond Mine' or the 'Adamantine fort'. But these identifications do not appear to be convincing for the simple reason that the places concerned have not yielded any trace of remains of the Buddhistic monasteries and temples of which the Chinese pilgrim so eloquently speaks. Hiralal, in this connection, refers to both Sirpur (old Śrīpura) in Raipur district and Bhandak (ancient Bhadrāvatī) in Chanda district, preferring, of course, the latter site, which, according to him, 'seems to possess more tangible evidence than Sirpur'.[16] Beal[17] places the capital of Kosala at Nagpur or Amaravati by calculating the distance of 1800 or 1900 *li* of Hiuen Tsang from Rajamahendri. There seems to be little doubt in support of the contention that Hiuen Tsang visited Dakṣiṇa Kosala at a time when the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs were holding their sway over this region. Since the Baloda[18] and Rajim[19] plates of Mahāśivagupta Tivaradeva were issued from Śrīpura, the suggestion that modern Sirpur on the Mahanadi was the capital of Hiuen Tsang's description may not be regarded as being wide of the mark.

Hiuen Tsang locates in the country a rock-cut monastery called Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li, which has been identified by R. D. Banerji[20] with the Bhramaragiri in the old Rewa State.

Different places in Kosala

The Somavaṁśīs, who established their supremacy in the upper Mahanadi valley at the beginning of the tenth century A.D., claimed suzerainty over Kosala and assumed the distinctive epithet of *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. Their dominions included the western part of the present Orissa State comprising Sambalpur district and the erstwhile feudatory States of Patna and Sonpur and this region thus came to be included within the political boundary of Dakṣiṇa Kosala. The inscriptions of this line of kings mention the following villages, besides others, which may be located in Orissa proper :

1. Vakratentalī. This village is mentioned in one of the Sonpur charters[21] of Mahābhavagupta I, *alias* Janamejaya, as being situated in Lupattarā-*khaṇḍa* and granted to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭaputra Jātarūpa. This village has been identified with Bantentuli (20°53″ N. 83°42″ E.) in the Sonpur State by Hiralal[22], and the district with Lepta (20°41″ N. 83°33″ E.) in the Patna State by B. Misra.[23]

2. Vakaveḍḍā. The Patna copper-plate grant[24] of the sixth regnal year of Mahābhavagupta I records the grant of the village of Vakaveḍḍā in the district of Oṅgātaṭa to certain Brāhmaṇas. Vakaveḍḍā is identified with Bakti[25], fifteen miles north of Bolangir, and Oṅgātaṭa with a locality on the Ong, a tributary of the Mahanadi, separating the Sonpur State from Patna. B. Misra[26] has looked for the location of the village at a place called Vankavira (20°53″ N. 83°50″ E.) in Sonpur.

3. Pāsitala. This place finds mention in an inscription of the sixth regnal year of the same king as being attached to the district of Potā. Both the village and the district have been located at Pontil[27] (20°44″ N. 83°31″ E.) in Patna and Pora (20°44″ N. 83°50″ E.) in Sonpur respectively.

4. Śatallamā. This place, which is mentioned in the Nagpur Museum charters[28] of Mahābhavagupta I as a gift village, formed a part of the district of Kośaloḍā. Śatallamā[29] still exists at Satlama in Sambalpur district, and Kośaloḍā, as Kursarda in Bargarh tahsil.

5-8. Raṇḍā, Alāṇḍalā, Arkigrāma and Tuleṇḍā. All the places are referred to in the Cuttack copper-plate charters[30], issued in the 31st regnal year of this king. The first two villages, Raṇḍā and Alāṇḍalā, were situated in Pova district of the Kosala country. Raṇḍā is considered to be the same as Renda[31] (20°44″ N. 83°33″ E.) in Patna, Alāṇḍalā, with a village[32] three miles east of Bolangir, and Pova with Pow[33] in the Sonpur State, thirteen miles south of Binka. The village of Arkigrāma which is said to be a part of Tulumva-*khaṇḍa* in the Kosala country is identified by B. Misra[34] with Harigan (21°6″ N. 83°6″ E.) in the Sonpur State. Both B. Misra[35] and R. D. Banerji[36] have equated Tulumva-*khaṇḍa* with Turum on the Mahanadi, 27 miles south of Sambalpur. Tuleṇḍā, which is included within Sandānā-*viṣaya* in the Kosala country, reminds one of Tulendi in the Patna State, six miles north of Balangir. Sandānā may be the same as Saranda[37] in Bargarh tahsil.

9. Talakajja. The Patna plates[38], issued in the year eight of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti record the grant of some land in the village of Talakajja in Sānulā district in the Kosala country to a Brāhmaṇa named Kāmadeva. The village and the district have been identified by B. Misra[39] with Talagaja (20°39″ N. 83°38″ E.) in Patna and Somara (20°30″ N. 83°28″ E.) respectively.

10. Niviṇḍā or Nivinnā. One of the copper-plate grants[40] of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, issued in his 15th regnal year, mentions the village of Niviṇḍā or Nivinnā in Ottarapalli-*viṣaya* in Ganutapāṭa-*maṇḍala* of the Kosala country as being bestowed on a Brāhmaṇa named Dīkṣita Puṇḍarīka. B. Misra[41] has located the village at the present site of Libina (20°58″ N. 83°18″ E.) in Bargarh tahsil.

11. Delāḍelī. The Patna plates[42] of the 24th year of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti's reign record the grant of the village of Delāḍelī in the district of Talatata in the Kosala country. Delāḍelī has been identified by B. Misra[43] with Dedil (20°22″ N. 83°21″ E.), a few miles from the river Tel in the Patna

State, while R. D. Banerji[44] located Telātaṭa-*viṣaya* on the banks of the Tel, a tributary of the Mahanadi, rising in the Kalahandi State and joining it at Sonpur.

12. Luttarumā. This village is mentioned in the Patna copper-plate grant[45] of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti as being included within Telātaṭa-*viṣaya* and it is placed by B. Misra[46] at Leter (20°7″ N. 82°50″ E.) in the Kalahandi State about 14 miles north of the Tel.

13. Gaṇḍasiminilli. This village is mentioned in the Cuttack plates[47], issued in the third regnal year of Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha as being situated in the district of Sākhaṅgadyaṇhā in the Kosala country. B. Misra[48] is of opinion that the village corresponds to Gaisama (21°16″ N. 83°40″ E.) in Bargarh tahsil of Sambalpur district.

14. Loisarā. The Kudopali plate of the 13th regnal year of the same king records the grant of a village named Loisarā in Gidāṇḍā-*maṇḍala* to a Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇa. According to R. D. Banerji[49], Loisarā is the same as its namesake in Bargarh tahsil, 16 miles south-west of Sambalpur, and Gidāṇḍā, Saranda in the same tahsil, 11 miles south-west of Sambalpur.

Mūrasīmā

The Somavaṃśīs did not have any permanent or fixed capital, as may be gleaned from the fact that their epigraphic records were issued from different *skandhāvāras*. The earliest known record of the family was issued from the royal residence or *vijaya-skandhāvāra* at Suvarṇapura, identified with Sonpur (26°51″ N. 83°54″ E.). The Nagpur Museum and Patna plates of Mahābhavagupta I were issued from the royal camp at Mūrasīmā[50], 'where the flights of merry pigeons rise up at the sound of the anklets of many beautiful maidens (and) whose fame is spread by bards coming from all quarters.'[51] B. Misra[52] locates the place at Moorsima (20°59″ N. 83°33″ E.) on the bank of the Ong in the Patna State. The location of

this place in the outskirts of Cuttack, as propounded by Fleet[53], can hardly be accepted.

Cuttack

It was once held[54], on the evidence of the following two arguments, that Cuttack for sometime was the capital of the Somavaṁśī king Mahābhavagupta I :

1. Some of his inscriptions were discovered in the record room of the Cuttack Collectorate.
2. Certain of his records contain the word *Kaṭaka* in naming the place[55] wherefrom they were issued.

R. D. Banerji[56] has shown that the word *Kaṭaka* is used in the records in the sense of a *skandhāvāra*, encampment, and not a proper name. Banerji observes : 'So far no evidence has been discovered which would enable us to prove that Cuttack or any part of the plains of Orissa was included in the dominions of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. From the third year of his reign till the 31st year he was the ruler of the poorest part of Orissa, the uplands now included in the British district of Sambalpur and the Indian States of Patna and Sonpur'.

Among other places from which the Somavaṁśī records were issued, notice may be taken of Pārāvatukūla, Vinītapura, Yayātinagara and Vāmaṇḍādaṇḍapāṭi. If the suggestion of B. Misra[57] is to be relied upon, the last named place corresponds to Bamra which is locally known as Bamanda in Sambalpur district.

Vinītapura

Mention has already been made of Vinītapura which was for some years the capital city of the Somavaṁśī kings and is identified by scholars with Binka, a small town on the Mahanadi river in the old Sonpur State. Hiralal opines that the city was renamed 'Yayātinagara' during the reign of

Mahāśivagupta Yayāti. He further suggested that the old name succeeded in the long run in asserting the ground. As already mentioned, the location of Vinītapura at ancient Yayātinagara has been opposed by B. Misra[58] who would distinguish the two places. Binka has yielded archæological remains that deserve consideration. Attention may be drawn to the remains of a fort in its neighbourhood and a *ghāṭ* embankment on the Mahanadi. The existence of a village, known as Rajapali close by is not without significance.

Yayātinagara

Another important city within Dakṣiṇa Kosala was Yayātinagara which is probably mentioned as Yayātinagarī in Dhoyī's *Pavanadūtam*.[60] The Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti III Caṇḍīhara founded this city and named it after him. The place has been identified with different places by different scholars. Some[61] have suggested its identification with Binka in the old Sonpur State, but it is argued against this identification that the place has not yielded any important architectural remains. B. Misra[62] is of opinion that Yayātinagara was in the vicinity of Sonpur wherefrom abundant archæological materials have been unearthed. Misra further points out that the natural charms of the place re-call the description of Yayātinagara, as preserved in the Somavaṁśī records. Fleet[63] considers Yayātinagara to be a fanciful name of Cuttack and is critical about its location at Jajpur, as suggested by a few Indologists, on the ground that the inscriptions distinctly imply that Yayātinagara stood on the Mahanadi river, whereas, Jajpur is situated on the Baitarani, about 50 miles away from the former river. A suggestion has, of late, been put forward by N. K. Sahu[64], according to whom the tiny village of Jaktinagar on the river Mahanadi, which has yielded the ruins of a large medieval fort[65], may be taken to be the representative of Yayātinagara.

REFERENCES

1. *Vāyu*, XLV, 132-3 ; *Matsya*, 113, 52-3.
2. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 3.
3. LVIII, 22.
4. *CII*, III, p. 13.
5. *PHAI*, p. 99.
6. *IA*, LXII, p. 61.
7. V. V. Mirashi (*SI*, I, p. 233) and L. P. Pandeya (*Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, p. 461) agree in identifying the place with Sarabhgarh in the Gangpur State in Sundargarh district. Scholars have differently located the city at Sambalpur, Sarangarh, Sarpagarh and various other places (*IHQ*, XIX, p. 144 ; *VGA*, p. 79). Hiralal's suggestion that Śarabhapura was the same as Śrīpura and Sten Konow's identification of the place with Sarabhavaram in the neighbourhood of Rajamundry are far from being certain.
8. *JKHRS*, I, pp. 265-6.
9. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 322-3.
10. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 204-17 ; *YCTI*, II, pp. 193-208.
11. Beal, *Travels of Hiouen-Thsang*, IV, pp. 414-5.
12. Ibid, p. 415.
13. *Archaeological Reports*, XVII, pp. 68-9.
14. *JRAS* (1875), p. 260.
15. *HO*, I, p. 143.
16. *IA*, LXII, p. 163.
17. *Travels of Hiouen Thsang*, IV, p. 414.
18. *EI*, VII, pp. 106ff.
19. *CII*, III, pp. 291ff.
20. *HO*, I, p. 144.
21. Ibid, XI, pp. 94-5.
22. *HO*, I, p. 206.
23. *DMO*, p. 66.

24. *EI*, III, pp. 341ff.
25. *HO*, I, p. 207.
26. *DMO*, p. 66.
27. Ibid.
28. *EI*, VII, pp. 138-43.
29. *HO*, I, p. 209 ; *EI*, XI, p. 201.
30. *EI*, III, pp. 345ff.
31. *DMO*, p. 66.
32. *HO*, I, p. 210.
33. Ibid.
34. *DMO*, p. 68.
35. Ibid.
36. *HO*, I, p. 210.
37. *DMO*, p. 68.
38. *JASB*, I, pp. 14ff.
39. *DMO*, p. 68.
40. *EI*, XI, pp. 96ff.
41. *DMO*, p. 68.
42. *JASB*, I, pp. 16ff.
43. *DMO*, p. 68.
44. *HO*, I, p. 216.
45. *JASB*, I, pp. 19-23.
46. *DMO*, p. 70.
47. *EI*, III, pp. 353-59.
48. *DMO*, p. 70.
49. *HO*, I, p. 221.
50. The relevant passage of the Patna copper-plate grant runs : '*Mūrasīmā-samāvāsitaḥ śrīmato vijaya-Kaṭakāt*'. Fleet (*EI*, III, p. 341) interpreted the expression to mean that the grant was issued from modern Cuttack while the king was in his residence at Mūrasīmā. On the interpretation of a similar passage in the Nagpur Museum plates Hultzsch observes, 'As, however, it could be difficult to imagine that the king resided at one place and issued his grant from another, I prefer to take the following word Kaṭaka to mean 'a camp' and

not the city of Cuttack. Thus the inscription of the 6th year is dated 'from the prosperous camp of victory, pitched at Mūrasīman' (*EI*, VIII, p. 139). The latter suggestion is more convincing. R. D. Banerji (*HO*, I, p. 210) took the expression to mean 'from the victorious camp of the illustrious one at Mūrasīmā'.

51. *EI*, VIII, p. 139.
52. *DMO*, p. 66.
53. *EI*, III, p. 341.
54. Scholars like B. Misra (*DMO*, pp. 66, 68) and Fleet (*EI*, III, p. 341) hold this view.
55. *śrīmato-vijaya-Kaṭakāt*.
56. *HO*, I, pp. 210-11.
57. *DMO*, p. 70.
58. Ibid, p. 75.
59. Hiralal, *Inscriptions in Central Provinces and Berar*, p. 105.
60. *JASB* (New Series), I, pp. 44-5 K. C. Panigrahi (*CBKSO*, pp. 14-15) is of opinion that Yayātinagarī of Dhoyī should more appropriately be identified with Jajpur which was called Abhinava Yayātinagara.
61. *EI*, XI, p. 189.
62. *DMO*, p. 75.
63. *EI*, III, p. 355.
64. *UUHO*, I, pp. 137-8.
65. *JBORS*, XV, p. 73.

Appendix A

THE MOUNTAINS OF ORISSA

Mahendra

Of the mountains of ancient Kaliṅga the most important are the Mahendras mentioned in the Great Epic and the *Purāṇas*[1] as one of the Kulaparvatas of India. As H. C. Raychaudhuri[2] observes, 'Mahendra is the mountain *par excellence* of the Kaliṅgas, Malaya of the Pāṇḍyas, Sahya of the Aparāntas, Śuktimat of the people of Bhallāṭa, Ṛkṣa of the people of Māhishmatī, Vindhya of the Āṭavyas and other forest folk of central India, and Pāripātra or Pāriyātra of the Nishādas.' Pargiter[3] opines that Mahendra is identical with 'the portion of the Eastern Ghāṭs between the Godavari and the Mahanadi rivers, part of which near Ganjam, as pointed out by Wilson, is still called Mahindra Malei or hills of Mahindra.' B. C. Law[4] takes the Mahendra range in a much wider denotation to mean the entire chain of hills extending from Ganjam up to the Pāṇḍya country. In other words, while according to Raychaudhuri the Mahendras correspond to parts of the Eastern Ghāṭs to the north of the Godavari, Law would prefer their identification with the entire Ghāṭs which 'run as detached hills, more or less parallel to the eastern coast of India with an average elevation of about 2,000 feet.' Among the hills (*Kṣudra-parvata*) associated with the Mahendra mountains notice may be taken of Śrīparvata, Puṣpagiri, Veṅkaṭādri, Aruṇācala and Ṛṣabha. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* mentions that the rivers Pitṛsomā, Ṛṣikulyā, Ikṣukā, Tridivā, Lāṅgulinī and Vaṁśakarā (i.e., Vaṁśadharā) issued out of the Mahendras.

The Mahendras find eloquent mention in Indian literature. Supremacy over these mountains has been claimed by Raghu[5], Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi[6], Samudragupta, Yaśodharman and

the Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅganagara, who established on their 'pure summit' the holy Gokarṇasvāmī to worship His feet.

It is interesting to note that Ptolemy mentions these mountains under the name of Maiandros, but he wrongly placed them in India extra-Ganjem.

Kumārī-Parvata

The Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela mentions the Kumārī hill which scholars have identified with the Udayagiri or the sun-rise hill, situated on the Birupa river at a distance of three miles from Bhubaneswar. This hill was a stronghold of the Jainas in early times, and it is supposed to be one of the places where Mahāvīra preached his doctrines.[7] Geologists think that the hill is composed of Athgarh sand-stones, greyish and porous in texture. It is honey-combed with about 44 caves in contrast with 14 in Khaṇḍagiri and 3 in Nilagiri.

Lalitagiri

Lalitagiri or Nalatigiri is the name assigned to three small hills, the Olasuni, Landa and Parabhadi, situated at a distance of about seven miles to the south-west of the Udayagiri hill and 31 miles from the Cuttack town. Of these three hillocks, the last two contained some early medieval remains, while the Olasuni 'retains very little of antiquarian interest'.

Ratnagiri

It is an isolated hill of the Asia range, and situated on the Kelua branch of the river Birupa to the north-east of the Lalitagiri. The hill is renowned for its rich antiquities, consisting, among other things, of the colossal statues of the Buddha and charming images of Tārā, Bodhisattvas and numerous Tāntric deities. The existence of a Buddhist monastery on the Ratnagiri hill is testified by the discovery of some

seals[8] from the place which bear the legend, *Ratnagiri Mahā-vihāra*.

Dhauligiri

Dhauligiri is an isolated peak, being about 500 feet high above sea-level. On a great slab of stone at its base are engraved the Aśokan edicts which have made this hill famous in history. In a cave atop this hill is found an inscription of the Bhauma Kara king Śāntikara I, recording a private donation.[9]

Kumāra-Parvata

It is revealed by an inscription[10] of Udyotakeśarī, engraved inside the Lalāṭendu cave in the Khaṇḍagiri hill that the ancient name of the hill was Kumāra-parvata (*śrī-Kumāra-parvata-sthāne*). Literally speaking Khaṇḍagiri means the 'broken hill', and it lies in Bhubaneswar sub-division, being situated in 20°16″ N. and 85°47″ E.[11] It may be noted in passing that the Jaina temple on the summit of the Khaṇḍagiri hill was built by the Mahrattas towards the close of the eighteenth century. Kittoe[12] considers the present temple as occupying 'the site of a caitya' as he noticed 'traces of former buildings'. M. M. Ganguly[13], on the other hand, did not notice the least trace of any former building, referred to by Kittoe.

REFERENCES

1. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (57, 10) states :
Mahendro Malayaḥ Sahyaḥ Śuktimān Ṛkṣa-parvataḥ /
Vindhyaś=ca Pāripātraś=ca sapta=iv=ātra kul=ācalāḥ//
The *Vāmana Purāṇa* (XIII, 14) similarly states : *Mahendro*

Malayaḥ Sahyaḥ Śaktimān Ṛkṣa-parvataḥ | Vindhyaś=ca Pāripātraś=ca sapt=ātra kula-parvatāḥ ||

2. *SIA*, pp. 105-6.
3. *SIA*, p. 107 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 284.
4. *Mountains of India* (1944), p. 21. Ancient Indian texts divide the mountains of India into various groups, viz., Kula-parvata ('group-mountain or clan-mountain'), Maryāda-parvata ('boundary-mountain') and Kṣudra-parvata (small hill).
5. *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 43.
6. *EI*, VIII, pp. 60ff.
7. *JBORS*, VIII, p. 246.
8. *UUHO*, I, p. 143.
9. *HO*, I, p. 152 ; *EI*, XIX, pp. 263ff.
10. The record tells us that in his fifth regnal year Udyota-keśarī repaired the old temples and wells on the Kumāra hill and set up the images of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras (*EI*, XIII, p. 166). For a different version of the inscription see *CBKSO*, p. 53.
11. K. P. Jayaswal draws our attention to an old Oriya manuscript, now preserved in the Indian Museum, which refers to an Aira king as an adversary of Aśoka. Verse 5 of the manuscript mentions Ekaprastara where the Khaṇḍagiri was situated [*Ekaprastara-khaṇḍe tu Hurāṇaḥ parvat=ottamaḥ | Khaṇḍagir=iti-nām=āsau pavitra c= Oktale bhuvi || JBORS*, (1917), p. 482]. But the text is corrupt.
12. *JASB*, VI, p. 1079.
13. *OR*, p. 61.

Appendix B

THE RIVERS OF ORISSA

The principal rivers of Orissa are the Vaitaraṇī, Mahānadī, Brāhmaṇī, Vaṃśadharā, Lāṅgulinī, Ṛṣikulyā and Prācī, all flowing into the Bay of Bengal. B. C. Law[1] points out that the rivers like the Sinivālī, Kumudvatī, Karatoyā, Mahāgaurī, Durgā and Antaḥśilā, mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* as coming out of the Vindhyas, were the rivers of ancient Orissa. The identity of the latter group of rivers is, in most of the cases, either unknown or doubtful.

Vaitaraṇī

The *Mahābhārata* alludes to the sanctity of the river Vaitaraṇī in the following words[2]:

> 'Through it passeth the river Vaitaraṇī, on the banks whereof even the God of virtue performed religious rites, having first placed himself under the protection of the celestials. Verily this is the northern bank, inhabited by saints, suitable for the performance of religious rites, beautified by a hill, and frequented by persons of regenerate caste. This spot (in holiness) rivals the path whereby a virtuous man, fit for going to heaven, repairs to the region, inhabited by gods. And verily at this spot in former times, other saints likewise worshipped the immortals by the performance of religious rites' (P. C. Roy, *The Mahābhārata*, II, p. 255).

The *Purāṇas* are not unanimous as regards the source of this river. According to the *Kūrma, Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu* and *Vāmana Purāṇas* the Vindhya is the source of the Vaitaraṇī, while the *Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇu* and *Brahma Purāṇas* mention the Ṛkṣa instead. This river actually rises among the hills in the north-west of the former Keonjhar State, and follows a course through Balasore district before it empties itself into

the Bay at a place called Dharma. The Vaitaraṇī receives two important tributaries, the Salandi (i.e., Salnadi or the river Sal) and Matai. Traditions regard this river as flowing at the gate of the abode of the god Yama. The *Kapila Saṁhitā*[3] mentions the river Vaitaraṇī and lays down that a person, taking the plunge in the river, attains the same virtue as he would get by a dip in the Ganges (*Gaṅgādevītvasan viprā satyaṁ satyaṁ na saṁśayaḥ || Vaitaraṇī mahāpuṇyā bhuxtida muktidā nṛṇām ||*).

Mahānadī

The Mahānadī, which is by far the largest river in the province, and occurs so frequently in the Bhañja records,[4] rises from the hills in the south-eastern part of Berar in Madhya Pradesh, flows through Sambalpur and Bolangir districts, forms the border between Dhenkanal and Baud districts, then flows past Cuttack, forms a large delta and finally falls into the Bay. It is fed by a large number of tributaries including the Pairi, Jonk, Om, Tel, Salki, Karuna, Shionath, Aspi, Hasdu, Mao, Kalo, etc. It is 550 miles in length and collects the drainage of 45,000 square miles. During the rainy season the stream varies in breadth from one to two miles. Its bed is rich in precious stones.[5] The *Mahādevī-Māhātmya* chapter of the *Kapila Saṁhitā* mentions the Mahānadī, which is compared to the Ganges, as destroying all sins (*Mahānadyāṁ naraḥ snātvā dṛṣtvā vai Pārvatī—Haram | sarva-pāpavinir= yukto Gaṅgā-snāna-phalaṁ labhet ||*).

Brāhmaṇī

The Brāhmaṇī is in reality the united flow of the two rivers, the Saok and South Koel, both rising in the hills of Chota Nagpur. To the east of Angul it is joined by a tributary, called Tikkira, which may tentatively be identified with the Antaḥśirā of *Purāṇas*. The river yields an abundant quantity of jasper and various other gems, but dangerous rocks prevent

it from being navigable by large boats. Both the Brāhmaṇī and the Vaitaraṇī have only water for small canoes during summer, while in the rainy season they afford adequate trade routes for the rural and forest produce which the hillsmen bring down by barter for salt and calico.[6]

Vaṁśadharā

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* mentions it as Vaṁśakarā, Varāha, Vaṁśavarā, and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* as well as the Narasapatan plates of Vajrahasta V mention it correctly as Vaṁśadharā. This river, which is 173 miles long, rises in the north of Bissamcuttack taluk in Koraput district, forms the boundary between Ganjam and Visakhapatnam for some distance, and eventually falls into the Bay of Bengal at Kalingapatam. In Andhra Pradesh its water is extensively used for irrigation.

Lāṅgulinī

The Lāṅgulinī, also called Lāṅgulī, is stated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[7] as coming out of the Mahendra ranges. It is the same as the modern Languliya which rises in the hills in Kalahandi district and flows due south into Ganjam district and so into the Bay at a place near Chicacole. The river is 151 miles long, and its upper part is known by the name of Nagavati. Both these names are derived from words meaning 'plough', and if traditions are to be believed, the river was created by Balarāma with his plough.

Ṛṣikulyā

The Ṛṣikulyā or Ruṣikulyā, as it is locally called, flows through the northern portion of Ganjam district. The *Purāṇas* mention this and Triyāṁā, also called Trisāmā and Tribhāgā, as two distinct rivers. B. C. Law[8] rejects

the Purāṇic statement on the ground that 'it would seem that they were one and the same river, the Ṛṣikulyā bearing the descriptive name of Trisāmā Ṛṣikulyā, signifying that the name Ṛṣikulyā was applicable to the united flow of three upper streams'. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* mentions the Śuktimat as the source of this river (*Ṛṣikulyā Kumārī ca Mandagā Mandavāhinī| Kṛpā Palāśinī ca-iva Śuktimat-prabhavāḥ smṛtāḥ*).

Prācī

It rises about two miles north-west of the Kantapara village and flows close to the boundary between Cuttack and Puri districts. Although a small river at present, it appears to have been a large one in the remote past. Ruins of ancient temples and brick houses are still found all along its course. Sāralādāsa mentions one of the branches of the Prācī, called Citrotpalā, which may be identified with its namesake of the Mahābhārata,[9] according to which this sanctifying stream flew between the places of Utpaleśa and Citrā Maheśvarī (*Utpaleśaṁ samāsādya yāvad=Citrā Maheśvarī | Citrotpal=eti kathitā sarva-pāpa-prakāśinī*). It may be noted that we know of a Citrotpalā, which is a branch of the river Mahanadi.

Telavāha

This river, which correponds to the modern Tel, rises in the north of Nowrangpur taluk of Koraput district, 'forms for some distance the northern boundary of that district, and then flows into the Kalahandi district. Later in its course it receives the drainage of the northern extremity of the Bissam-katak taluk, and eventually unites with the Mahanadi, near the town of Sonpur'.[10] The river is not navigable during summer when it completely dries up. This river finds mention in some of the copper-plate grants of the Bhañja kings.[11]

Indrāvati

The Indrāvatī rises in the jungles of the ex-Kalahandi State and 'winds in a very zigzag course from east to west across the Nowrangpur taluk, passing a couple of miles south of Nowrangpur town and thence into the Bastar State'. It is 329 miles in length and it ultimately joins the Godavari river.

Suvarṇarekhā

The river Suvarṇarekhā (the streak of gold) which finds mention in the Kenduapatna plates of the Eastern Gaṅga king Narasiṁha II and appears to be identical with the Kambyson of Ptolemy,[12] rises a little to the south-west of Ranchi in the Chota Nagpur plateau and flows through Singbhum, Mayurbhanj, Midnapore and Balasore districts and finally falls into the Bay of Bengal, in 21°34″ N. and 87°21″ E., after a course of 296 miles, having drained an area of 11,300 square miles (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, I, p. 235). Among its tributaries mention may be made of the Kanchi and the Korkari, both joining it from the west.

Other Rivers of Orissa

Among the other rivers, mentioned in the epigraphic records, we may note the following :

Śālimā. It is referred to by the Ganjam grant of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja and is identified with the Salia, a rivulet in Banpur.

Mandākinī. The Dhenkanal grant[13] of Jayasiṁha contains a reference of this river, which in the opinion of B. Misra[14] is 'distinctly identical with the stream flowing under the same name at Jajpur' in Cuttack district. N. K. Sahu[15] is inclined to identify this river with the modern Mankara 'which starts from the western part of Keonjhar district and passing through

Pallahara sub-division of Dhenkanal district meets the river Brahmani near Banor'.

Vyāghra. This river, mentioned in the Singhara plate of Raṇabhañja, is equated with a tributary of the river Mahanadi in Baud.

Sālaṅkī. The Baud grant of Raṇabhañja mentions this river which is a tributary of the Mahanadi in Baud.

Śaṅkhajoṭi. The river Śaṅkhajoṭi, mentioned in the Dhenkanal inscription of king Kulastambha, is identified with the river Brahmani, which in its upper reaches is even today called Sanka. 'The Śaṅkha', to use the words of B. Misra[16], 'flows in a southerly direction, forming the boundary line between the Jashpur State and Simdeg for some distance and joins the Palamara, and from this confluence runs for some miles in a south easternly direction, joins the Koel, coming from a northernly direction, at Panposh in the Gangpur State. Now the joint stream flows in a southernly direction under the name Brahmani through Gangpur, Bonai and Bamra and enters the Dhenkanal State whence it runs eastward'.

REFERENCES

1. *Rivers of India* (1944), p. 43.
2. *yatra Vaitaraṇī nadī / yath=āyajata Dharmo'pi devān śaraṇam=etya vai // ṛṣibhiḥ sam=upāyuktaṁ yajñiyaṁ giri-śobhitaṁ / uttaraṁ tīram-etaddhi satataṁ dvija-sevitaṁ // samānaṁ deva-yānena pathā svargam=upeṣuvaḥ / atra vai ṛṣayo'nye ca purā kratubhirījire //* H. Siddhānta Vāgīśa, *Mahābhārata, Vanaparvan*, pp. 979-80.
3. Chapter VII.
4. *DMO*, p. 46. The Mahānadī is also mentioned in the Ningundi grant of Prabhañjanavarman.
5. W. W. Hunter, *Orissa* (1872), II, pp. 64ff.

6. Ibid.
7. *Lāṅgulinī Vaṁśakarā Mahendra-prabhavāḥ smṛtāḥ* / P. Tarkaratna edited, p. 246.
8. *Rivers of India*, p. 45.
9. *Bhīṣmaparvan.*
10. *Orissa District Gazetteers*, Koraput (1945), p. 10.
11. *DMO*, p. 46.
12. H. C. Raychaudhuri (*HB*, p. 11) upholds the view that Kambyson stands for Sanskrit Kapiśā, mentioned by Kālidāsa, and is identical with the modern Kasai which flows past Midnapore.
13. *JBORS*, II, pp. 417-9.
14. *DMO*, pp. 23-24.
15. *UUHO*, I, p. 118.
16. Ibid, p. 27.

PART II

POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT ORISSA

Chapter I

GLIMPSES INTO THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF ORISSA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE MIDDLE OF THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

Orissa Before the Rise of the Buddha

The history of Orissa prior to the period of the Cede rule by the middle of the first century B.C. is wrapt up in obscurity. It has to be admitted that several early texts including the *Mahābhārata, Aṅguttara Nikāya* and the like embody notices of this country, but in most cases they do not appear to be trustworthy. Even when epigraphs seem to record genuine anecdotes, their observations are too sketchy to enable us to derive a full picture. No epigraph is concerned with Orissa as a distinct sovereign state, but a few, including Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka that we have at our disposal, show it simply as a part of a bigger kingdom. With the foundation of the Cedi rule these difficulties no longer stand in the way of the historian, who is able to follow, in the main, the vicissitudes of fortune which Orissa since then had passed through.

The *Mahāgovinda Suttānta* of the *Digha Nikāya*[1] reflects the earliest political picture of Kaliṅga. This Buddhist text divides India into seven principal kingdoms :

1. Kaliṅgaraṭṭha (i.e., Kaliṅgarāṣṭra), capital Dantapura.
2. Assaka, capital Potana.
3. Avanti, capital Māhissatī.
4. Sovīra, capital Roruka.
5. Videha, capital Mithilā.
6. Aṅga, capital Campā.
7. Kāsī, capital Vārāṇasī.

It is further mentioned that Sattabhu, king of Kaliṅga, Brahmadatta, king of Assaka, Vessabhu, king of Avanti,

Bharata, king of Sovīra, Reṇu, king of Mithilā, and Dhātaraṭṭha or Ḍhṛtarāṣṭra, king of Kāśī, were ruling contemporaneously with one another. Among these rulers, Dhṛtarāṣṭra of Kāśī is well known to us from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[2] The existence of Kaliṅga as a sovereign state is further alluded to by the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*[3] which states that Karaṇḍu of Kaliṅga, 'on seeing the lustful nature of animals and their consequent ruin', renounced the world along with Dummukha, king of Uttara Pañcālaraṭṭha, Naggaji of Gandhāra, Nimi, king of Videha and other contemporary kings. Evidently Kaliṅga flourished as an independent kingdom at the time of Nimi and his contemporaries of the Brāhmaṇa period. The contemporaneity of these four kings is also implied by the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[4], although it mentions the names of these kings in slightly modified forms. H. C. Raychaudhuri[5] points out that the Vedic evidence lends support to this contention. Thus he says, 'Durmukha, the Pañcāla king, had a priest named Bṛhadukta, who was the son of Vāmadeva. Vāmadeva was a contemporary of Somaka, the son of Sahadeva. Somaka had close spiritual relationship with Bhīma, king of Videha, and Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra'. If the above synchronism is to be relied upon, Somaka, Durmukha, Bhīma and Nagnajit may be considered to be contemporaries. The Vedic texts do not mention Karaṇḍu, while the mention of Nimi in these works is more or less problematical. R. N. Mehta[6] points out that Durmukha is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* as a great conqueror and king of Pañcāla.

The date of Karaṇḍu may approximately be fixed on the basis of his contemporaneity with Nimi of Videha. An attempt has been made to identify the Videhan monarch with his namesake, mentioned in the *Nimi Jātaka* as the penultimate king of the Maithila family. The *Nimi Jātaka*[7] ends with the statement that Kalārajanaka, son of Nimi, brought his line to its end (*putto panassa Kalārajanako nāma taṁ vaṁsaṁ upacchinditvā apabbajī*). Thus the determination of the date of Karaṇḍu depends largely on that of the downfall of the

Videhan monarchy. If H. C. Raychaudhuri's[8] hypothesis that the Videhan dynasty met its end in the early sixth century B.C. is to be accepted, a date for Karaṇḍu in the latter part of the seventh century B.C. may be considered to be highly probable. R. N. Mehta[9], however, opines that 'its *terminus ad quem* may not, unreasonably, be taken to be the 8th century B.C., since it must have taken at least a century for the new powerful confederacy (i.e., the Vajjian confederacy) to have been firmly established, as we find it in the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra in the 6th century B.C.' The latter view would push the date of Karaṇḍu a few decades earlier.

Aśmaka Paramountcy

Ere long the fortune of the kingdom of Kaliṅga plummeted to its lowest level. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[10] furnishes us with a list of sixteen great kingdoms (*Solasa-mahājanapadā*) which flourished in the age just before the rise of the Buddha ; Aṅga, Magadha, Kāśī, Kosala, Vṛji (Vajji), Malla, Cedi, Vatsa, Aśmaka (Assaka), Avanti, Gandhāra and Kāmboja. The Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra*[11] gives a somewhat different list, containing Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magadha, Malaya, Mālava, Accha, Vaccha, Koccha, Paḍha, Lāḍha (Rāḍha), Bajji (Vajji), Molī, Kāśī, Kosala, Avāha and Sambuttara. As both the lists are silent about Kalinga while referring to the different kingdoms of India up to the river Godavari in the south (*so*[12] *Assakassa visaye Alakassa samāsane vasi Godāvarī-kule uñcchena ca phalena ca*) in the early part of the sixth century B.C., the natural implication is that Kaliṅga was annexed to one of the aforesaid kingdoms during this period.

The *Jātaka* texts[13] bear witness to the fact that it was Assaka which had conquered Kaliṅga. The details of the political animosity between these two countries are recorded in the *Cullakāliṅga Jātaka*, according to which the war was brought about by the aggressions 'inflicted on the king of Assaka by the Kaliṅga king who suffered from the mania for

war and love of conquests over the whole of India.' The war was waged on the frontiers of the two kingdoms (*ubhinnaṁ rajjānam antare*). The Kaliṅga monarch was helped by his huge army (*sampanna-balavāhano mahati-senāya*), but Nandisena, the General of the Assaka army, succeeded in expelling the enemies from the war-field. Owing to his reverses, the Kaliṅga monarch was induced to surrender his four daughters to the victorious Assaka king Aruṇa.[14]

Orissa During and After the Buddha

The Assaka occupation of Kaliṅga proved to be ephemeral. The Jaina *Pārśvanātha-Carita* by Śri Bhavadeva Sūri refers to an invasion of the kingdom of Prasenjit by a Kaliṅga ruler, named Yavana. If this Prasenjit be identified with the Kosalan contemporary of the Buddha, we may tentatively infer that Kaliṅga shortly afterwards threw off the yoke of Assaka and became an independent kingdom in the age of the four great kings of Kāśī, Kosala, Avanti and Magadha. As the story goes, Prasenjit, by selecting Pārśvanātha, the crown-prince of Vārāṇasī for the hand of his daughter, evoked the jealousy and incurred the displeasure of the Kaliṅga king who invaded his dominions with a huge army. Prasenjit appealed for help to king Aśvasena who responded to his call by sending Pārśva to the rescue of Prasenjit. With the approach of Pārśva in the city the Kaliṅga king 'decided not to fight and finally withdrew to his kingdom.'[15] It is difficult to determine, how far the account is authentic. Since the word *Yavana* appears in Indian literature for the first time in the *Aṣṭādhyāyi* of Pāṇini (*Yavanānī-lipi*), it is difficult to believe that the Yavanas had penetrated to the eastern part of India before the Buddha's time. Further, the story of Pārśvanātha, the crown-prince of Vārāṇasī, in this connection, appears also to be somewhat out of the mark, for we know that Kāśī ceased to be an independent kingdom after the time of Mahākosala, grand father of Prasenjit. That Kaliṅga flourished as an independent state

during and immediately after the death of the Buddha is, however, attested to by the *Culla Niddesa* which mentions it as one of the political divisions of India.

For the history of Kaliṅga during this period we may get some accounts in the *Kaliṅgabodhi Jātaka* which speaks of three generations of Kaliṅga kings. According to this text king Kaliṅga I of Dantapura had two sons, Mahākaliṅga and Cullakaliṅga, the elder succeeding the father, and the younger marrying in romantic circumstances the Madra princess who was living *in cognito* in Himavā. The Madra princess gave birth to a son, called Kaliṅga II. When Mahākaliṅga died, Kaliṅga II was sent to Dantapura where his identity having been duly established, he was installed on the throne. The royal chaplain Kāliṅga Bhāradvāja taught the young king the duties of a *Cakravartin.*

Orissa in the pre-Nanda Age

While referring to the political condition of India in the pre-Nanda age the *Purāṇas*[16] state that 24 Aikṣvāku, 27 Pañcāla, 24 Kāśī, 28 Haihaya, 32 Kaliṅga, 25 Aśmaka, 36 Kuru, 28 Maithila, 23 Śūrasena and 20 Vitihotra kings had reigned, Mahāpadma Nanda rose and exterminated the Kṣatriyas. In this connection R. D. Banerji[17] observes that 'after the end of the Mahābhārata War and before the conquest of Northern India by Mahāpadma Nanda of Magadha, 32 kings reigned in Kaliṅga for 1050 or 1115 years. This is evidently the first dynasty of Kaliṅga. The average reign of each king would be either 31.75 or 32.812 years. This average is certainly not overmuch'. It is difficult to believe that one single dynasty ruled in Kaliṅga for such a long period. Such an assertion is incompatible with the Buddhist and Jaina evidences, discussed above.

The Nanda Rule in Orissa

Mahāpadma founded the Nanda dynasty in Magadha after

having expelled the Śaiśunāga line of rulers in c. B.C. 364 and brought a considerable portion of India within the orbit of his political authority. The Nandas continued to rule in Magadha till the time of Dhanananda when the dynasty was ultimately overthrown by Candragupta Maurya in B.C. 324 or nearabout.

That some portions of Orissa, if not the whole of it, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Nanda kings, is proved beyond doubt by the following two passages of the Hathigumpha inscription[18] of *Mahārāja* Khāravela :

1. *Paṁcame*[19] *ca dāni vase Naṁdarāja-ti-vasa-sata-oghāṭitaṁ Tanasuliya-vāṭā panādiṁ Nagaraṁ pavesa(ya)ti* [20]

H. C. Raychaudhuri[21] translates the passage as follows : 'And then, in the fifth year, (Khāravela) caused the canal opened out by king Nanda three hundred years back to be brought into the capital from the Tanasuliya road'.

2. *Naṁda*[22]*-rāja-nītaṁ*[23] *ca Kāliṁga-Jinaṁ*[24] *saṁnive(sa)*.[25]

K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji translate the passage thus : 'And (he) sets up (the image) 'the Jina of Kaliṁga' which had been taken away by king Nanda'.

Now, the construction of a canal in, as well as the removal of a sacred object from, the Kaliṅga country by Nandarāja establish indubitably the extension of his political supremacy to some, if not the entire, portions of the province. Once we identify him with any of the kings of the well-known Nanda dynasty of Magadha, the theory of the Nanda occupation of Orissa becomes inevitable.

The Identification of the Nandarāja

K. P. Jayaswal,[26] supported by R. D. Banerji,[27] sought to identify this Nandarāja with Nandivardhana, mentioned in the *Purāṇas*, as one of the successors of Śaiśunāga Kālāśoka. This suggestion appears to be wide of the mark for the reason that the *Purāṇas* as well as the Ceylonese *Mahābodhivaṁśa*

represent Nandivardhana as a scion of the Śaiśunāga dynasty which is 'sharply distinguished from the Nandas'. 'The Purāṇic as well as the Ceylonese chroniclers know of the existence of only one Nanda line' and there is no evidence in favour of the assumption that Nandivardhana and Mahānandin who ruled before Mahāpadma bore the name of Pūrvananda, as assumed by Jayaswal. Besides, Nandivardhana is not known to have been in any way associated with Kaliṅga[28] which, if we assign any credence to the Purāṇic testimony, was at the time of the Śaiśunāgas an independent sovereign state.

B. M. Barua and K. C. Panigrahi[29] identify Nandarāja of the Hathigumpha inscription with the Maurya emperor Aśoka on the ground that Candragupta Maurya is called Nandānvaya in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, a drama by Viśākhadatta, assignable to the 6th century A.D. and Pūrvanandasūta in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva. But it may be pointed out that the 'fact that Candragupta Maurya succeeded the last Nanda king seems to have confounded the playwright to refer to him as Nandānvaya. Further, it has been pointed out......that Pūrvananda of the *Kathāsarit Sāgara* of Somadeva or of *Bṛhat Kathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra is a character more legendary than historical and it would be contrary to sober history if Candragupta Maurya be made identical with his namesake, the son of Pūrvananda. Kṣemendra knows Aśoka, the grandson of Candragupta, as belonging to Maurya clan and in his *Avadāna Kalpalatā* he calls him a lion of the great forest of the glorious Maurya family (*Śaurya-Mauryamahāvaṁśavanapañcānana śrīmad=Aśokadevaḥ*). Thus, the attempt to identify the Nanda king of the Hathigumpha inscription on the basis of medieval literature proves abortive and it is worthwhile to look to early literary sources for arriving at a proper conclusion.[30] On the other hand, the Brāhmaṇical, Jaina, Buddhist as well as classical sources are unanimous in agreeing to the fact that Candragupta was a scion of the Maury family, which was distinct from the Nanda line. The same feeling is echoed

more explicitly in the following statement of the *Mahāvaṁśa*[31] : 'Afterwards the nine Nandas were kings in succession ; they too reigned for twenty-two years. Then did the Brāhmaṇa Cāṇakya anoint a glorious youth, known by the name of Candragupta, king as over all Jamvudvīpa, born of a noble class, the Moriyas ; when filled with bitter hate he had slain the ninth (Nanda) Dhanananda.[32]

E. J. Rapson[33] does not rule out the possibility of this Nandarāja of having been a local king in Kaliṅga, but as H. C. Raychaudhury[34] points out, 'the reference in the inscription to the conquest of a place, or removal of a sacred object from Kaliṅga by Nandarāja disposes of the view that he was a local chief'. The following grounds, however, seem to be strong enough to establish Nandarāja's connection with the Magadhan Nanda dynasty :

1. The mention of Nandarāja's name in the twelfth line of the Hathigumpha inscription in connection with Magadha fixes his identity with a king of the Nanda family of Magadha.

2. K. P. Jayaswal's reading of the record would suggest that the Nandarāja, charged with having taken away the image of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, was a believer in the Jainism. Literary traditions corroborate that the Nandas were followers of the Jaina religion.

3. History is silent regarding the existence of any post-Aśokan neo-Nanda line[35] in any part of India during the period.

We propose to identify this Nandarāja with the first Nanda king and not with any of his successors in view of the following considerations :

First, of all the kings of the Nanda dynasty Mahāpadma alone is credited with conquests. The *Purāṇas* describe him as the destroyer of all the Kṣatriya races (*sarva-Kṣatrāntaka*) and the sole monarch (*ekarāṭ*) of the earth. This implies, according to Pargiter, that he annihilated all the Kṣatriya families which had been ruling contemporaneously with the

Śaiśūnāgas, viz., the Ikṣvākus, Pañcālas, Kāśis, Haihayas, Kaliṅgas, Aśmakas, Kurus, Maithilas, Śūrasenas, Vītihotras, etc. The subjugation of a wide dominion down to the seas under the Nanda is further confirmed by the Jaina *Pariśiṣṭa Parvan*, VII, 81 :

Samudravasaneśebhya āsamudram=apiśriyaḥ
upāya hastair=ākṛṣya tataḥ so'kṛta Nandasāt /

There is thus no improbability in the assertion that a great conqueror like Mahāpadma would have annexed Orissa to the Magadhan empire.

Secondly, the Nandarāja is reputed in the Hathigumpha inscription to have undertaken in Kaliṅga positive public works which doubtless cost enormous wealth from the royal treasury. It is extremely unlikely that the later Nandas, infamous for their avariciousness,, would have undertaken the construction of a costly irrigation work in an outlying province of their empire. This would confirm Nandarāja's identification with Mahāpadma.

B. M. Barua[36] does not believe in the Nanda conquest of any part of Kaliṅga, the factor weighing heavily with him being a statement of Aśoka in Rock Edict XIII that the province 'had remained unconquered (*avijita*) till the 7th year of Aśoka's reign'. Barua[37] remarks, 'There is no evidence as yet to prove that any king of the Maurya or of the Nanda dynasty, who may be called a predecessor of Aśoka, had either conquered or held sway over any part of Kaliṅga. . . . We need not attach any importance to the name Nanda because it finds mention in this inscription which is but a royal panegyric composed to flatter Khāravela'. Raychaudhuri[38] points out on the other hand that the claim of the Maurya secretariat is on a par with Jahāngir's boast that "none of the Sultans of lofty dignity has obtained the victory over it." A. C. Mittal[39] has shown that the term *avijita* may simply 'refer to the fact that Kaliṅga was not included within the limits of Aśokan *Vijita*, empire, or *rāja-viṣaya*, i.e., royal dominions'.

A cloud of uncertainty hangs over the question of the territorial extent of the Nanda paramountcy in Kaliṅga. R. K. Mookherji[40] is inclined to believe that Mahāpadma conquered 'the small northern part of Kaliṅga which formed a part of the Nanda empire. A considerable part of Kaliṅga lay to the south and it was left to Aśoka to complete the conquest of the whole of Kaliṅga from north to south'. N. K. Sahu[41] has advanced an opposite view when he says, 'The Hathigumpha Inscription reveals that a Nanda king excavated an aqueduct in Kaliṅga not far off Tanasuli (Toṣālī) and Nāgarī (Kaliṅganagarī) which indicates that the heart of Kaliṅga was under the Nanda king who . . . is no other than Mahāpadmananda. There is no doubt, therefore, that the whole of Kaliṅga extending from the Ganges to the Godavari was occupied by the first Nanda king'. N. K. Sahu, as is evident from what he says above, has based his contention mainly on the basis of his supposed identification of Tanasuli and Nagarī with Tosalī and Kaliṅganagarī which has further been equated with Sisupalgarh in Puri district, respectively. While the identification of Tanasuli with Tosalī is highly a speculative one, the acceptance of his suggestion with regard to the location of Khāravela's capital does not warrant such an extensive Nanda kingdom in Kaliṅga as stretching as far south as the river Godavari. The final judgement on the issue of the southern limit of Nanda conquests in Orissa is not likely to be pronounced until some fresh data are brought to light.

The Maurya Rule in Orissa

On the threshold of the Maurya age we meet with an account of Pliny[42], supposed to be based on the statements of Megasthenes[43], running to the effect that the 'tribe called Calingae are nearest the sea . . . The royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1000 horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in precinct of war'. This passage[44] would seem to reflect the condition of Kaliṅga at

the time of Candragupta Maurya. It is explicit enough to indicate that the country was independent and militarily powerful. It then may be assumed that Kaliṅga probably proclaimed her independence during the period of turmoil following the invasion of Magadha by Candragupta. It is nevertheless unlikely that a great conqueror like Candragupta, credited with the conquest of India[45], would have tolerated the existence of Kaliṅga as an independent unit throughout his reign, lasting for a period of 24 years. Nevertheless, when we have no positive evidence in our favour we must refrain from drawing any definite inference.

The first and successful attempt to bring Kaliṅga within the limits of the Maurya empire was made by Aśoka in his 13th regnal year. The conquest of Kaliṅga was an arduous process ; her kings must have swelled the ranks of their army considerably during the intervening period, for in the war with Aśoka the casualties exceeded 2,50,000[46]. Scholars point out the following factors, which, according to them, contributed to the military resources of Kaliṅga :

i) her vast over-land empire extending from the Ganges to the Godavari along the coastal tracts ;

ii) her mighty elephant troops extolled by Kauṭilya[47] and Diodorus[48] as the best of their types in India ; and

iii) possibly also her great overseas empire and colonies.[49]

As H. C. Raychaudhuri[50] puts it 'The existence of a powerful kingdom so near their borders, with a big army, 'in precinct of war', could not be a matter of indifference to the kings of Magadha.' Besides these political considerations, economic factors played no small role in bringing about the hostility between Magadha and Kaliṅga. It has been pointed out that 'important trade routes from the Gangetic valley to the Deccan and further South passed through Kaliṅga and the control of these routes was perhaps considered essential for the interest of Magadha'.[51] Aśoka's conquest of Kaliṅga is proved by the internal evidence of Rock Edict XIII as well as the geographical distribution of his following records :

1. Eleven of the Fourteen Rock Edicts. They were discovered, besides six other places[52], at Dhauli and Jaugada.

2. Two Separate Rock Edicts. They stand together with the Dhauli and Jaugada sets of Rock Edicts on the same two rocks, taking the place of Rock Edicts XI, XII and XIII in the other collections and 'they must have been issued along with the Fourteen Rock Edicts or very soon after.'[53]

H. K. Mahtab[54] records a tradition current among the fishermen of the coastal region of Orissa, according to which the exquisitely beautiful Kāruvākī, a princess of the fisherman community, was given in marriage to the Kaliṅga prince and made his crowned queen. It was the rumour about her rare physical charms that allured Aśoka to invade Kaliṅga. In the war that followed both the Kaliṅga King and the prince were killed. Kāruvākī fought gallantly but was finally overpowered and carried away to Magadha. She was called upon to marry the Maurya emperor. Though reluctant at the beginning, she ultimately married Aśoka only after the latter was converted to Buddhism. As the story further runs, Aśoka at her behest sculptured in the Ranigumpha cave the scenes depicting his fight with and taking away, the queen. In the absence of any corroborative evidence we are unable to judge the veracity of the legend. The Queen's (Allahabad) Pillar Edict[55], however, mentions one Kāruvākī as Aśoka's second queen and mother of Tīvara (*dutiyāye deviye ti Tīvalamātu Kāluvākiye*).

Aśoka himself gives us a detailed account of the conquest of Kaliṅga in his Rock Edict XIII[56] in the following words :

> 'By king Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, when consecrated eight years, was conquered the Kaliṅga country. One and a half hundred thousand people were carried away (as captives) from that place, one hundred-thousand were killed (or wounded) and many times that number died (there).[57] Thereafter, now when Kaliṅga has been annexed, practice of *Dharma* (the law of piety), love of *Dharma* and inculcation of that *Dharma* (were adopted) by (the king), the Beloved

of the Gods. For his having conquered Kaliṅga, there arose remorse or repentance in (the mind of the king), the Beloved of the Gods. For when an unconque-country is (newly) conquered, there occur such things as slaughter, death and carrying away captive of people and these things are exceedingly felt and regarded as serious by (the king), the Beloved of the Gods. There live everywhere Brāhmaṇas and (Buddhist) ascetics, people of other (religions) sects and householders, among whom these (virtues) are practised, namely, service (or hearkening to superiors or elder brothers), hearkening to mother and father, hearkening to preceptors and proper behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, comrades and relatives, as well as to slaves and servants and also steadfast devotion (to duties). There to them (also) occur injury (or taking away or tearing off of dear ones), slaughter and banishment of persons attached to them. And of those who are well settled in life and whose affection remains unreduced or unvanished, their friends, acquaintances, comrades and relatives fall into calamity. There to them that too is a kind of injury (or seizure by force). This lot (or ill-luck) of all men is regarded as serious by (the king), the Beloved of the Gods. . . . So whatever number of men was then killed (or wounded), and died and was carried away captive at the time of annexation of Kaliṅga, a hundredth part or the thousandth part (of that number) is regarded as serious by (the king), the Beloved of the Gods.'

Rock Edict XIII would then hardly leave any room for doubt that Aśoka's Kaliṅga expedition was brilliantly successful and it resulted in the annexation of Orissa to the Magadhan empire. It must be confessed that the record leaves us in the dark regarding the following points :

i) whether Kaliṅga was invaded from the north alone or

was approached simultaneously from the north as well as the south ;

ii) whether the Magadhan army was under the direct supervision of the emperor himself or was spearheaded by a Maurya general ;

iii) the plans of campaigns and the number[58] of engagements ; and lastly,

iv) the fate of the royal house of Kaliṅga.

Aśoka's Administrative Measures

The conquest of Kaliṅga having been a *fait accompli*, the emperor did not spare a moment to arrange for the proper administration of this newly acquired province which was immediately divided into two halves, one having its headquarters at Tosalī and the other at Samāpā. A prince of the royal family, styled as Kumāra[59], was placed at Tosalī to shoulder the administrative responsibility of the northern half while the *Mahāmātras*[60] were entrusted with the charge of the southern part. D. R. Bhandarkar suggests that the Kumāra-viceroy at Tosalī was not empowered to exercise unfettered power, as it was in the case of the *Kumāras*, stationed at Ujjain and Taxila. This view is based on the threefold arguments noted below:

1. The *Kumāras* of Ujjain and Taxila were to send on tour their own *Mahāmātras* every three years to ensure the proper administration of justice, whereas, the *Kumāra* of Tosalī was not empowered to depute the *Mahāmātras* who were to be sent by Aśoka himself.

2. 'Secondly, in connection with the dispatch of such an officer, the *Kumāras* of Ujjayinī and Takṣaśilā are mentioned by themselves and not associated with any state dignitaries, whereas, in Separate Kaliṅga Edict II (Dh. version), where alone the *Kumāra* of Tosalī is referred to, he is mentioned not by himself but associated with the *Mahāmātras*'.

3. And finally, Aśoka issued orders to the *Nagara Vyāva-*

hārikas and others of Tosalī directly when the *Kumāra* remained in charge of the province, and not through the *Kumāra* himself.

Aśoka never contemplated that his duties would end with the appointment of administrative officers; the victorious king felt an ardent desire to win the heart of the vanquished people by paying serious attention to their well-being. Aśoka suspected that the people of Kaliṅga might apprehend of being victimised and persecuted at the hands of the alien government and entertain doubts about their security. In order to allay the apprehensions of the Kaliṅga people Aśoka issued two special edicts,[61] enunciating the guidelines on which both the settled inhabitants and the border tribes were to be treated, at Dhauli and Jaugada. These two Separate Kaliṅga Edicts were addressed to the *Mahāmātras* of Tosalī[62] and Samāpā.[63] Aśoka says in his Second Separate Kaliṅga Rock Edict :

Asvāsaniyā ca te, ena te pāpuneyu, 'athā pita hevaṁ ne lājā ti, athā atānaṁ anukampati hevaṁ atānaṁ anukampati hevaṁ apeni anu(ka)mpati, athā pajā hevaṁ lājine'.[64]

'They[65] (all men) should also be consoled (or inspired with confidence in me), so that they should think—'The king is to us even as a father ; he sympathises with us as he sympathises with himself ; we are to the king even as his children.'

The First Separate Kaliṅga Rock Edict speaks of a stern warning having been given by Aśoka to the law officers of Tosalī and Samāpā against having recourse to repressive measures in the form of illegal imprisonment, harshness and summary trial. The emperor declared that in order to eliminate the miscarriage of justice he would henceforth send out on tour of inspection every five years such *Mahāmātras* who were not harsh and wrathful, but smooth and honest in action. The royal princes of Ujjain and Taxila were instructed to send out every three years a similar body of high officials for the same purpose.

Aśoka and Unconquered Borderers

It, however, seems that in spite of his conquest of Kaliṅga, some forest tribes, described as unconquered borderers in the Second Separate Kaliṅga Edict, were lukewarm to acknowledge his overlordship and they were considered as a source of perennial danger by the emperor himself. To quote a few passages of Rock Edict XIII :

> 'To the forest-tracts[66] (i.e., the people thereof) that exist in the dominion of (the king), the Beloved of the Gods, the majestic power of (the king), the Beloved of the Gods, should bring consolation, should make (them) reflect (properly) and should also make them feel remorseful (in wrong deeds). This should be thus told—"You should feel ashamed (for your wrong-doing), if you do not want to be perished (or utterly ruined)".'

With these we may compare the following statements in the Second Separate Kaliṅga Rock Edict :

> 'This[67] may occur to all unconquered borderers—"May we ask—of what intention (or desire) is the king regarding ourselves ?" Such then is my desire towards them—they should understand that "the king desires so that they may not cherish any anxiety (or fear) no my account and they should have confidence in me, and they should gain only happiness from me and no misery." And they should also understand that "the king will forgive us, as far as it is possible to forgive".'

Since this warning to the people of forest-tracts and unconquered borderers is found issued in the edicts which were specially meant for Kaliṅga, we may not without sufficient reasons reject their connection with some turbulent Kaliṅga tribes who probably defied the imperial authority by indulging in sporadic skirmishes. It is obvious that as the supreme head of the imperial government Aśoka could not assume the role of an idle spectator of their incalescent activities.[68]

The Kaliṅga war proved to be a turning point in Aśoka's life, leading to his conversion to Buddhism. We learn from the Minor Rock Edicts and Pillar Edict VI that the emperor began issuing his inscriptions a little more than two-and-a-half years after he had become a lay disciple (*upāsaka*) and 12 years after his consecration. This would place his conversion to Buddhism a little less than one and a half years after the Kaliṅga war.

Aśoka's conquest of Kaliṅga was not of so much importance for the political history of Orissa as it was for the history of Magadha and India. H. C. Raychaudhuri[69] remarks, 'The conquest of Kaliṅga was a great landmark in the history of Magadha, and of India. It marks the close of that career of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisāra's annexation of Aṅga. It opens a new era—an era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation and, perhaps, of military inefficiency during which the martial spirit of Imperial Magadha was dying out for want of exercise. The era of military conquest or *Digvijaya* was over, the era of spiritual conquest or *Dharma-vijaya* was about to begin.'

The Later Maurya Rulers

According to the chronological scheme, adopted by Smith, Aśoka breathed his last in B.C. 232[70] after an eventful reign of forty years. What happened to Orissa consequent on Aśoka's demise is not definitely known. The princes who succeeded him failed to check the forces of disintegration which were breaking asunder the fabric of the mighty empire. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* tells us that Aśoka was followed by his son Kuṇāla who reigned for eight years. Kuṇāla's son and successor was Bandhupālita who in his turn was followed by Indrapālita. The kings who ruled next in succession were Devavarman, Śatadhanus and Bṛhadratha. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* represents Jalauka as Aśoka's successor in Kāśmīra, while

Tāranātha mentions Vīrasena as Aśoka's successor in Gandhāra. Bandhupālita may be regarded as identical with Daśaratha known to us from some dedicatory inscriptions at the Nagarjuni hills. The last king of the Maurya dynasty was Bṛhadratha mentioned both in the *Purāṇas* and Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita.* Even before the accession of the last Maurya the very foundation of the empire was rudely shaken by the invasions led by the Yavanas, as alluded to in the *Yuga Purāṇa*[71] section of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya.* The death blow to the Maurya dynasty was struck by the General Puṣyamitra when he usurped the throne and founded a new line of rulers in c. B.C. 187 after having assassinated Bṛhadratha. None of these kings is known have been in any way connected with Orissa.[72]

REFERENCES

1. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, p. 27.
2. *PHAI*, p. 51.
3. *Jāt.*, III, p. 381.
4. *SBE*, XLV, p. 87.
5. *PHAI*, p. 82.
6. *PBI*, p. 41.
7. *Jāt.*, VI, p. 129 ; *PBI*, p. 50.
8. *PHAI*, p. 95.
9. *PBI*, p. 51.
10. I, 213 ; IV, 252, 256, 260.
11. *Saya*, XV, *Uddessa* I (Hoernle, *The Uvāsagadasāo*, II, Appendix).
12. *Sutta Nipāta.*
13. Jāt., III, pp. 3ff.
14. *PBI*, pp. 67-68,
15. A. C. Mittal (*AEHO*, p. 118) does not place much faith in the accounts of the *Pārśvanāthacarita* as he says,

'The historicity of the above story and also the identification of the Kaliṅga Yavana are not very easy in the present state of our knowledge, for, we find no corroborative evidence of such an incident in any other literary work'.

16. F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies), pp. 23-24.
17. *HO*, I, p. 59.
18. *EI*, XX, pp. 72ff; *IHQ*, XIV, pp. 261ff; B. M. Barua, *OBI*, No. I; *SI*, pp. 213ff.
19. *EI*, XX, p. 79.
20. Indraji (*Trans. Inter. Or. Cong.*, Leiden (1884), part 3, p. 135) translates the passage as follows: 'He opened the three-yearly almshouse of Nandarāja'. *Sata=sattra* or *catra*. Jayaswal & Banerji interpreted the passage to mean that the canal was excavated in the year 103 of king Nanda. This interpretation presupposes the existence of a reckoning associated with Nandarāja, but of this we have at present no corroborative evidence. M. S. Pandey (*PIHC*, Ranchi Session, 1964, pp. 132ff.) supports this interpretation and holds the view that 'it was Aśoka who had excavated the canal for the welfare of the people of Kaliṅga'.
21. *PHAI*, pp. 229-30.
22. *EI*, XX, p. 80.
23. In a note in the page 88, *EI*, XX, Jayaswal and Banerji observe that there is no doubt about the reading of the text and the translation of *Naṁda-rāja-nītaṁ*.
24. The identification of the Kaliṅga-Jina is far from certain since the Jaina tradition does not assign any of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras to Kaliṅga proper. Jayaswal and Banerji (*EI*, XX, p. 85) identify the Jina with Śītalanātha, the 10th Tīrthaṅkara, who was born at Bhadalapura which is the same as Bhadrapuram or Bhadrachalam in Godavari district in Andhra.
25. B. M. Barua (*IHQ*, XIV, pp. 479-80, 468) reads the

passage as *Nadarāja-jita Kaliṁga-jana-saṁ(n)i(ve)saṁ* to mean that 'Khāravela (did something in connection with) the settlement of the Kaliṅga people, subjugated by king Nanda'.

26. *JBORS*, (1918) p. 91.
27. R. D. Banerji (*JBORS*, XIII, p. 237) was formerly of opinion that Nandarāja was the same as Nandivardhana, but he has subsequently identified him with Mahāpadma (*HO*, I, p. 60).
28. *MASI*, I, p. 11..
29. *JAS*, XIX, pp. 25ff.
30. *UUHO*, I, pp. 219-20.
31. Geiger, *Mahāvaṁśa*, p. 27.
32. *UUHO*, I, p. 221.
33. *CHI*, p. 484.
34. *PHAI*, p. 230.
35. A later Nanda or Nandodbhava line is mentioned in a few copper-plate grants (*DMO*, pp. 36-37). It ruled in the tract called Airāvaṭṭa-*maṇḍala* as subordinate under the Bhauma-Karas.
36. *IHQ*, XIV (1938), p. 476.
37. Ibid.
38. *PHAI*, p. 230.
39. *PIHC*, 15th Session (1953), p. 92.
40. *OHRJ*, I, p. 181.
41. *UUHO*, I, p. 217.
42. *CAI*, p. 341.
43. Some scholars presume that Pliny derived his information from a later source referring to the reign of the Cedi kings.
44. Bostock translates : "This king has 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1000 horses and 700 elephants, always caparisoned, ready for battle." See Ibid, p. 350.
45. Plutarch (c. A.D. 46—A.D. 120) tells that Candragupta overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of six hundred thousand men. Justin likewise informs

us that the Maurya emperor was in possession of India. Candragupta's connection with Surāṣṭra in Western India is proved by the Junagadh Rock inscription of the *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudradāman. Certain Mysore records allude to Candragupta's rule in North Mysore [Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 10 ; *JRAS* (1911), pp. 814-17]. Some Tamil texts refer to the Mauryas, probably of the time of Candragupta, as having advanced as far as the Podiyil hill in Tinnevelly district.

46. It is possible that the quantum included combatants as well as non-cambatants.
47. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 2.
48. *Megasthenes*, pp. 33ff.
49. *HO*, I, p. 62 ; B. C. Mazumdar, *OM*, p. 17 ; *JKHRS*, I, p. 351. R. D. Banerji (*HO*, I, p. 62) believes that Kaliṅga 'had built up a great overseas empire and spread her colonies as far as the Philippine Islands in the East and far south into the islands of Indian Archipelago'. B. C. Mazumdar (*OM*, pp. 17ff.) points out that the 'mighty people of Kaliṅga had established an empire in Burma long before Aśoka led his victorious soldiers into Kaliṅga'. Some of the Indian colonists of these islands might have originally belonged to Orissa, but it is hardly correct to say that these were purely Orissan settlements.
50. *PHAI*, p. 305.
51. *UUHO*, I, p. 241.
52. (i) Girnar in Kathiawar, (ii) Kalsi in Dehra Dun district, U.P., (iii) Shahbazgarhi in Peshawar district, Pakistan, (iv) Mansehra in Hazara district, Pakistan, (v) Sopara in Thana district, Gujrat, and (vi) Yerragudi in Kurnool district, Andhra.
53. *ANM*, p. 205.
54. *HO*, pp. 20-21.
55. *AI*, pp. 151-52.
56. Ibid, pp. 71-72.

57. Mookherji (*OHRJ*, I, p. 182) points out that the total casualties of the war amounted to about 5½ lacs (1½ lacs prisoners, 1 lac killed, 3 lacs of further casualties) and contributed at most 50% of the fighting force. Following this argument Mookherji upholds that Kaliṅga must have organised a huge army of over 10 lacs.
58. R. D. Banerji (*HO*, I, p. 63) observes, 'The number of Kaliṅgans, who were captured, killed or died of privations, indicate the stubborn resistance of the nation to the aggression of the Northern Empire. In that little strip of country, extending along the Eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, many a great battle must have been fought from the banks of the Suvarnarekha to that of the Krisna. A small but determined army could have opposed an invader at every river and there are so many of them all through. Aśoka is silent about the number of engagements, because it was not his object to record the events of his reign. There are hundreds of impregnable forts along the foot of the Eastern Ghats, at least some of which must have been stormed before the entire country submitted to Aśoka Maurya.'
59. The *Kumāras* were the princes of the royal blood, appointed by the emperor to rule over the outlying provinces. The edicts prove that Tosalī, Suvarṇagiri, Ujjayinī and Takṣaśilā were each under a *Kumāra*. According to the *Arthaśāstra* the salary of a *Kumāra* was 12,000 *paṇas* per annum.
60. The *Mahāmātras* were the High State Officers, posted in each great city and district of the Maurya empire. The inscriptions speak of the *Mahāmātras* of Pāṭaliputra, Kauśāmbī, Tosalī, Samāpā, Suvarṇagiri, Isila and probably Śrāvastī. Some of them were also *Nagala-Viyohālakas*, carresponding to the *Nāgarakas*, or *Nāgarikas* and *Paura-Vyāvahārikas* of Kauṭilya (Book II). Barua (*Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, p. 204) opines that their duties were not confined to those of Presidency and

Police Magistrates, but these embraced 'all administrative affairs of a city, including municipal.'

61. It is interesting to note that Rook Edict XIII was not allowed to be engraved anywhere in Orissa 'with the view that the inhuman nature of the war should not be presented to her people to remind them of their humiliating defeat in it.' An opposite view is held by N. K. Sahu (*UUHO*, I, p. 326) who observes, 'It was clearly a matter of political expediency and not a result of the sense of shame and remorse of Aśoka as Dr. Bhandarkar (*Aśoka*, p. 25) thinks.'
62. (*Devā*)*naṁ* (*piyasa*) (*vacanena*) *Tosa*(*li*)*yaṁ* *Ma*(*hā*)*māta* (*Naga*)*lavi*(*yohālakā*) *vataviya* - First Separate Kaliṅga Rock Edict.
63. *Samāpāyaṁ Mahāmāta* (*Na*)*galaviyohālakā he*(*vaṁ*) *vataviya* - First Separate Kaliṅga Rock Edict.
64. *AI*, p. 124.
65. Ibid, p. 126.
66. Ibid, p. 72.
67. Ibid, p. 126.
68. R. K. Mookherji (*OHRJ*, I, p. 183) interpreted the corresponding passage to mean that 'Aśoka was quite prepared to show his might (*prabhāva*) and to undertake military operations against the, aboriginal people if they transgress the bounds of morality' and that Aśoka 'exerts them to the civilized ways of life (*anunaya*) . . . .'
69. *PHAI*, pp. 306-7.
70. *EHI*, p. 197.
71. K. P. Jayaswal (*JBORS*, XIV, p. 402) has compiled historical materials from this text which speaks of the Yavana incursions into Sāketa, Pañcāla, Mathurā and Puṣpapura, i.e., Pāṭaliputra. (*tataḥ Sāketam=ākramya Pañcālān Mathurān tathā / Yavanā duṣṭ=āvikrāntā*(*ḥ*) *prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajaṁ // tataḥ Puṣpapure prāpte...*/)
72. H. K. Mahtab (*HO*, p. 16) suggests, without adducing any reasons in support, that with Aśoka's death ended the Maurya rule in Kaliṅga.

Chapter II

ORISSA FROM THE AGE OF THE CEDIS TO THE END OF THE GUPTA RULE

The Original Home and The Early History of the Cedis

The Cedis, who are also called Cetis, are an ancient tribe who find mention in one of the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*[1] where their king Kasu Caidya is applauded for his prowess and munificence. According to the testimony of the Buddhist texts the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and the *Janavasabha Suttānta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the Cedis constituted one of the sixteen great *Janapadas* or kingdoms (*solasa-mahājanapadā*) into which Northern India was divided in the sixth century B.C. The *Mahābhārata*[2] locates them in a territory corresponding roughly to the eastern part of present Bundelkhand and the adjoining region of Madhya Pradesh. Indian traditions[3] also sometime associate them with Magadha and Nepal. It seems that one branch of the Cedis at a later date migrated to Orissa where they carved out an independent principality which was ultimately transformed into a migty empire. But this migration must have occurred long before Khāravela by whose time the memory of the incident became completely extinct and the family came to be identified with one of Kaliṅga.[4] A. C. Mittal[5] has, of late, advanced the theory that the members of Khāravela's family were not Cedis by descent, but they were so-called after the name of the Cedi country where they founded a kingdom. This is purely a hypothesis, unsupported by any concrete historical fact.

The Cedi kings of Orissa claimed their descent from the legendary king Vasu[6] who is identified with the monarch of the same name, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, as the fifth in descent from the celebrated Paurava king Kuru. He is said to have attained the rank of a *Samrāṭ* and *Cakravartīn* and extended his sway over a wide stretch of territory comprising

Magadha, Matsya, etc. It is interesting to note that Vasu was not a Cedi by origin, but he conquered the Cedi kingdom from the Yādavas whence he obtained the title *Caidyoparicara*, the conqueror of the Cedis.

At least two kings of the Cedi dynasty, viz., Khāravela and Vakradeva are known to have assumed the title *Aira*, an epithet which seems to have been applied to all the members of the house.[7] Unfortunately, there is no consensus of opinion among scholars regarding the exact meaning of the word. R. D. Banerji[8] equates the term with Sanskrit *Aila*, meaning a descendant of Ila or Ilā, father or mother of the Pururavas. A similar interpretation of the word is put forward by A. C. Mittal[9] who holds that the kings of Kaliṅga were Kṣatriyas of the lunar family. B. M. Barua[10] accepts the word as a synonym of *Ārya* and on the authority of the Jātaka commentary he explains the title as meaning *Svāmī*, master or lord. K. P. Jayaswal[11] takes the word in the sense of *Ārya* but points out that the expression probably indicates the ethnic difference of Khāravela from his subjects 'who were mostly Dravidians or the mixed Aryo-Dravidians, for, according to the *Nāṭya-śāstra* the people of Kaliṅga were dark but not black.' D. C. Sircar[12] at first supported the theory of R. D. Banerji, connecting *Aira* with *Aila*, but subsequently he has reversed his opinion and has taken the term in the sense of *Ārya* (Aryan). Sukumar Sen while commenting on the word, suggests that *Aira*, which is equivalent to Vedic *irya*, indicates the follower of the Īśvara cult. He is of opinion that the cult of Īśvara was not necessarily a Śaiva cult, but was perhaps connected with the defunct Indra-worship. The theory of S. Sen appears to be far-fetched, because, Khāravela, whom we definitely know to have been a Jaina, could hardly have been a devotee of Īśvara or Indra. It seems that the word *Aira* is used in the Hathigumpha inscription in the sense of a venerable one, being a synonym of Sanskrit *Ārya*, which as an honorific title of kings, princes and heroes occurs time and again in several of the Sanskrit texts.[13].

It is surprising that the Hathigumpha inscription, which is a storehouse of information regarding the achievements of Khāravela, is silent about the previous rulers of the family. R. D. Banerji[14] explains the puzzle by the supposition that either Khāravela inherited the throne during his minority, or, his parentage was doubtful, as some form of matriarchy was probably prevalent in Kaliṅga. The suggestion that Khāravela ascended the throne while he was still a minor, is not supported by the evidence of the Hathigumpha record. As regards the prevalence of matriarchy in Khāravela's family, it may be observed that such a system characterises only those royal houses where queens are the reigning authorities, but the Cedi family is not known to have belonged to this category. Moreover, the fact that one of the queens of this family proudly declared herself to be the 'chief queen of His graceful Majesty Khāravela, the overlord of Kaliṅga,[15] (*Kaliga-cakavatino siri-Khāravelasa agamahisi*), evidently shatters the presumption that in the royal Cedi family descent was reckoned in the female line. Scholars seem to have fallen into an error by assigning undue significance to the absence of any reference to Khāravela's parentage in his record, and have overlooked the Aśokan edicts which are similarly silent about his ancestry. In fact, it was not customary with the early Indian records to give the dynastic genealogy which is to be met with so regularly in the inscriptions from the fourth century A.D. onwards.

As already mentioned, we know very little about the history of the Cedis before Khāravela. Scholars[16] have traced a reference to one of Khāravela's predecessors in the expression *Māhāmeghavāhana* which would mean that Khāravela was a descendant of Mahāmeghavāhana, the founder of the Cedi house in Kaliṅga. But as D. C. Sircar points out, 'whether he (i.e., Mahāmeghavāhana) represented the first of the three generations of Kaliṅga kings, referred to in the Hathigumpha inscription, and was therefore the grandfather of Khāravela, cannot be determined'. While dealing with the term *Māhāmeghavāhana* we may also note the expression

Śātavāhana. As a French scholar has pointed out, the term *Śātavāhana* is a combination of two or more Sanskritised Austric words, similarly it is not unlikely that we can trace some Austric base at the root of the expression *Māhāmegha-vāhana*. B. M. Barua[17] is of opinion that the Cedis of Kaliṅga were evidently the same as the Meghas, represented in the *Purāṇas* as ruling over Kosala. This theory is open to two objections; first, while the *Purāṇas* locate the Meghas in the ancient Kosala country, the Hathigumpha inscription refers to the Cedis as kings of Kaliṅga; and secondly, had Khāravela really been a scion of the Megha family, it remains inexplicable why the *Purāṇas*, while recounting the history of the family, would be so indifferent as to pass over his name in silence.

Two predecessors of Khāravela, representing the first two generations of the dynasty, are known. Unfortunately, their names cannot be ascertained, but their existence in vouchsafed by the expression *tatiye Kaliṅgarāja-vaṁse purisa yuge* as applied to Khāravela in the third line of the Hathigumpha inscription. The majority of scholars are inclined to take the expression to mean that the Cedi king represented the third generation of the dynasty. B. M. Barua[18] interprets the expression 'in the sense of the third couple of royal personages, one representing the fifth, and the other, sixth of one and the same reigning dynasty of Kaliṅga.' Consequently, Barua would surmise that the Cedis followed the practice of conjoint rule of two kings in each generation and Khāravela was the fifth or the sixth king of the dynasty. A. C. Mittal, who is a staunch advocate of the above interpretation, maintains that Khāravela was the great-great-grandson of the first king of the dynasty. His father was associated as a king with his grandfather when he had been administering the office of the crown-prince from his sixteenth to the twenty-fourth year. But his grandfather having passed away, Khāravela himself joined his father as a sovereign at the age of twenty-five. His father, however, died in the eleventh year of his reign, whence

his son Vakradeva came to be associated with him as a ruler. In order to support the contention, both Barua and Mittal have adduced a number of cases of conjoint rule, like those of Caṣṭaṇa and Rudradāman, Strato I and Strato II and Azes and Azilises, and a few references to the *dvairājya* from of government, as is alluded to in the *Atharvaveda*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Āyāraṅga-sutta* and other Indian texts. The view that the Cedis followed the system of conjoint rule of two kings in each generation is liable to be repudiated as there is not the faintest indication in the Hathigumpha record in favour of the existence of diarchy in Khāravela's time. If Khāravela was reigning jointly with his father and son successively, the Hathigumpha inscription, instead of being issued in his name alone, must have been incised jointly by him and his son. Be that as it may, there is hardly any iota of doubt that the predecessors of Khāravela were capable administrators and heroes of many battles. They must have succeeded in consolidating their authority over the whole of Kaliṅga. The victorious military campaigns of Khāravela in different parts of India and the financial prosperity of his reign would indubitably point to the fact that Kaliṅga, prior to his accession, was enjoying the blessings of an orderly government and that the authority of the power was already laid on a firm footing.

The Genealogical Position of Mahārāja Vakradeva

D. C. Sircar[19] propounds the view that *Mahārāja* Vakradeva (whose name is also read as Vakadepa, Kūḍepa, Kūdepa, etc.), mentioned in the Patalpura cave inscription as the lord of Kaliṅga, was the second king of the dynasty and father of Khāravela. This suggestion is based on the supposition that 'the upper storey of the (Manchapuri) cave may be attributed to the reign of Khāravela and to a date later than that of the construction of the lower storey.' B. M. Barua,[20] who is averse to such a hypothesis, points out, on the other

hand, that the lack of symmetry between the two storeyes of the Manchapuri cave seems to suggest that the lower one was excavated at a later date than the upper one or the Vaikuṇṭhapura cave which was built up during the reign of Khāravela under the patronage of his chief queen. This leads us to suggest for Vakradeva a date that was chronologically later than the third king of the royal Cedi family of Kaliṅga.

The Cedi Chronology

We may now take up the burning problem of the Cedi chronology, which is still defying solution. In tracing it we shall have to determine the date of Khāravela first and then fix the upper and lower limits of the dynasty by counting backward and upward, as the case may be, from that date.

Unfortunately, the date of Khāravela is itself a debatable issue and some of the well-known theories on the problem may be noted below :

1. K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji[21] advance the view that *Mahārāja* Khāravela flourished in the first half of the second century B.C. This view is based on the Kaliṅga king's contemporaneity with the Indo-Greek king Demetrius I (c .B.C. 190-165), Śātakarṇi I, assignable to the early decades of the second century B.C., and Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (c. B.C. 187-151) and on the belief that the Hathigumpha inscription was issued in the 165th year of the Maurya era (starting from Candragupta's accession to the throne in c. B.C. 324) which synchronised with the thirteenth year of Khāravela's reign.

2. Bhagwanlal Indraji[22] upholds the view that Khāravela ascended the throne of Kaliṅga in B.C. 103. The basis for this supposition lies in the belief that the thirteenth regnal year of Khāravela corresponded to the 165th year of the Maurya era which started from B.C. 255, the date of Aśoka's conquest of Kaliṅga.

3. According to H. Luders[23], the fifth year of Khāravela's reign coincided with the year 103, counted from the beginning,

or from the end, or from any other date of king Nanda or the kings of the Nanda dynasty. This mode of calculation would assign Khāravela's accession to a date between B.C. 302 and B.C. 226.

4. Fleet[24] holds that the eleventh regnal year of the Cedi monarch synchronised with the year 113 after Aśoka's conquest of Kaliṅga in B.C. 256. In this way the initial year of Khāravelas's reign is fixed in B.C. 154.

5. V. A. Smith[25] advocates that Khāravela's fifth regnal year corresponds to the year 103 after B.C. 322, the year which marks the end of the Nanda dynasty, i.e., B.C. 219. Thus Khāravela's accession is placed in B.C. 223.

6. Dubreuil endorses the view that Khāravela was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, and that the Hathigumpha inscription is dated in the 165th year of *Rāja-Muriya-kāla*.

7. Jagannath[26] maintains that Khāravela ascended the throne at the beginning of the second century B.C. He based the conclusion on the contemporaneity of the Kaliṅga king with Demetrius I and the mention of the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas in the Hathigumpha inscription as independent ruling powers, which according to him indicates a 'proximity to the Aśokan times rather than to any later period when these powers ceased to exist as separate political entities.'

None of these arguments and the theories, based on them, appears to be maintainable. Although Śātakarṇi of the Hathigumpha inscription seems to be no other than the first Śātavāhana king of that name,[27] who was evidently the third ruler of the dynasty, it is highly improbable that he would be assigned to such an early date as the first half of the second century B.C. It is true that some scholars relying first on some of the *Purāṇas*, which assign to the dynasty a period of 450 years, and secondly, on the fact that the rule of the dynasty terminated by the first quarter of the third century A.D. have placed the foundation of the Śātavāhana dynasty in c. B.C. 225. But this theory cannot be said to be free from any omissions and commissions as the *Purāṇas* are not unanimous

regarding the duration of the Śātavāhana rule and the number of kings of the dynasty. If, on the other hand, the unanimous Purāṇic statement that the Andhra Simuka obtained the earth after having assailed Suśarman, the last Kānvāyana king and the remains of the power of the Śuṅgas is to be taken as authentic, the foundation of the Śātavāhana dynasty may be assigned to c. B.C. 30.

The supposed identification of Nandarāja with Nandivardhana is wide of the mark, inasmuch as the former belonged to the dynasty of the Śaiśunāgas, who are not known to have been in any way associated with the kingdom of Kaliṅga. The suggestion is further open to a serious chronological objection, as it would make us believe that Khāravela flourished either 300 or 103 years after Nandivardhana. But in neither case can he be placed in the first part of the second century B.C., which, according to K. P. Jayaswal and some other scholars, was the epoch of the Kaliṅga monarch.

The theory which equates the Yavanarāja, another contemporary of Khāravela, with the illustrious Indo-Greek king Demetrius I is based on a very doubtful reading. The remarks of B. M. Barua[28] are worth quoting in this context :—'The name of the Yavana king cannot be definitely made out. Even it is uncertain whether it consists of 3 or 6 syllables' H. C. Raychaudhuri[29], who is somewhat sceptic about the correctness of the reading, opines that the expression may refer to Diyumeta or Diomedes. But it is difficult to agree with Raychaudhuri on the ground that Diomedes is known to have ruled over the ancient Gandhāra region only and we have hardly any evidence at our disposal to connect this king with any part of India beyond the river Jhelum. R. P. Chanda thinks that the Yavanarāja was probably an Indo-Greek king of Mathura who was forced to surrender his kingdom to the invading Scythians. Some scholers[30] connect the present king with Wema Kadphises, but this suggestion is untenable, for in that case we shall have to place Khāravela in the middle of the first century A.D., a date which appears to be too late

for the Kaliṅga ruler. An attempt has further been made to equate the Yavanarāja with king Timitra[31], mentioned in a Besnagar seal. N. K. Sahu[32] is of opinion that the Yavanarāja of the Hathigumpha epigraph might have been any one among Zoilus, Apolophanes, Dionysus, Nicias and Hippostratus, whose coins are found in large number in the Eastern Punjab. But as pointed out earlier, Khāravela's contemporaneity with Demetrius I is based on a very doubtful reading of the text, and even if the reading is accepted, it may refer to some later Indo-Greek ruler.

The identity of Bahasatimita with the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, which has been upheld by R. D. Banerji[33], Sten Konow[34], V. Smith and Jouveau Dubreuil, is not warranted by any cogent evidence. R. P. Chanda[35] points out that 'Even if we admit that Bṛhaspati was also identified by the ancient Hindus with Puṣya, that does not justify the identification of Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra any more than the denotation of the same god by the terms *Skanda* and *Kumāra* justifies the identification of Skandagupta with Kumāragupta'. D. C. Sircar[36] opines that Bahasatimita of the Hathigumpha inscription 'seems to be the king of that name mentioned as the sister's son of Āṣāḍhasena of the Pabhosa inscriptions and as the father of the queen of a Mathura king referred to in the Mora inscription'. John Allan[37] objects to the identification of the two Bahasatimitas of the Mora and Pabhosa inscriptions, which, according to him, are assignable to two different epochs. A. C. Mittal[38] is in favour of identifying Bahasatimita of our record with the so-called Bahasatimita II, and since he noticed traces of re-striking on some of the issues of Bahasatimita, he reached the conclusion that the coins, in question, were restruck by Khāravela as a memento of his victory over him. But the existence of two Bahasatimitas may be called in question on the ground that the 'fine distinction between the Aśokan and the so-called Śuṅga character of the scripts need not be stressed too much'[39]. Some scholars, on the other hand, do not accept the reading Bahasa-

timita' in the Hathigumpha inscription as correct. R. C. Majumdar holds that the second, third and fourth letters of the supposed reading seem to have been *hu*, *pa* and *sa* respectively. John Allan[40] likewise points out: 'The word, in question, begins as *bahu*, the certain elements in it seem to be *bahu*(*s*)*idita*; it is very probably not a proper name at all; for the suggested reading of the preceding word as *Māgadhaṁ ca rājānaṁ* is extremely improbable philologically as well as palæographically'.

The view that the sixteenth line of the record contains a reference to the Maurya era does not receive any countenance. As pointed out by D. C. Sircar,[41] '......what is, in the case, read as *muriya-kāla* (*Maurya kāla*, 'Maurya era') is really *mukhiya-kalā* (*mukhya kalā*, 'the principal art').' H. C. Raychaudhuri observes that 'there is no reliable evidence of the existence of a *Rāja-Muriya-kāla* in the sense of an era founded by the first Maurya. The use of regnal years by Aśoka points to the same conclusion.'

More reasonable are the theories of D. C. Sircar[42] and others[43] who uphold the view that Khāravela belonged to the second half of the first century B.C. The following three arguments may be adduced in support of this contention :

First, the script of the Hathigumpha inscription, which is characterised by the angular form and straight bases of letters like *ba*, *ma*, *pa*, *ha* and *ya* is obviously later than that of the Besnagar Guruḍa pillar inscription of Heliodorus, assigned to the close of the second century B.C.

Secondly, as D. C. Sircar points out, 'His title *Mahārāja*, which like *Mahārājādhirāja* seems to have been inspired and popularised by the foreign rulers of India and was first used by the Indo-Greeks in the first half of the second century B.C., suggests a later date. A king of Kaliṅga, far away from the sphere of influence of the foreign rulers, could have assumed it only at a later period.'

Thirdly, the sculptures of the Manchapuri cave executed during the period of the Cedi rule are later in date than those

at Bharhut, erected during the suzerainty of the Śuṅga rulers.

The above arguments would induce us to believe that Khāravela flourished at a date later than the Śuṅga and Indo-Greek kings, but they fail to state the exact interval of time that separated the Kaliṅga king from these previous rulers. Consequently, the exact fixation of Khāravela's date depends on the identification of the Nanda-rāja and the actual meaning of the expression *ti-vasa-sata* which indicates the time interval between Khāravela and the Nanda king. The Nanda-rāja of the Hathigumpha inscription seems to have been a scion of the famous Nanda dynasty of Magadha and probably, as we have already suggested, the first Nanda king Mahāpadma. The chronology of Mahāpadma is, of course, itself a subject of controversy. But H. C. Raychaudhuri has adduced good grounds to establish that the Nandas ruled for 40 years till c. 324 B.C. when they were supplanted by Candragupta Maurya. Since Mahāpadma reigned for twenty-eight years, and his successors for twelve years only, his reign may be assigned to the period from c. B.C. 364 to c. B.C. 336. The expression '*ti-vasa-sata*' can only be interpreted either in the sense of 103 or 300 years. If we accept the first interpretation, we shall have to place the foundation of the Cedi rule in Orissa during the reign of Aśoka, but this goes against our knowledge of contemporary history.[44] It is, therefore, pretty certain that the expression, in question, means 300 years and we may accordingly suggest that Khāravela ascended the throne of Kaliṅga by c. B.C. 36. Again in view of his contemporaneity with the third Śātavāhana ruler Śātakarṇi I it is hardly possible to place his accession at any date earlier than the penultimate decade of the first century B.C., say, c, B.C. 15. Before Khāravela ruled his two predecessors and if we allot a period of fifteen years reign to each of the generations, the foundation of the Cedi rule in Orissa may be placed in c. B.C. 45. Although the upper limit of the Cedi rule can thus be roughly ascertained, it is extremely difficult to fix its lower limit, for, we do not know definitely how long the Cedis continued to

rule in Orissa after Khāravela's death in c. B.C. 2-1. N. K. Sahu[45] has suggested the following dates for the kings of the Cedi dynasty as approximately correct :

Foundation of the Cedi rule in Kaliṅga	c. B.C.	73.
Birth of Khāravela	c. B.C.	64.
His rule as the Crown Prince	c. B.C.	49-40.
His consecration as *Mahārāja*	c. B.C.	40.
The last known date of his career ...	c. B.C.	27.

The theory of N. K. Sahu is principally based on his supposition that the third regnal year of Khāravela corresponds to c. B.C. 37, which, according to him, marks the termination of the rule of Śātakarṇi[46] I. As shown already, there is hardly any convincing proof to place the foundation of the Śātavāhana dynasty by Simuka at a date prior to c. B.C. 30.

The Reign of Khāravela

For the reign of Khāravela, the third king of the dynasty, we have interesting details in the Hathigumpha inscription, which credits him with successful military operations in different parts of India and represents him as the most powerful emperor of his times. Curiously enough, the *Purāṇas*, while dealing with the political history of India in the pre-Christian epoch, mention a number of rulers, but are conspicuously silent about Khāravela. The absence of any reference to Khāravela's name[47] in the *Purāṇas* and other early texts would leave the impression that notwithstanding the hyperbolic statements in his own epigraph, the Kaliṅga monarch was in reality not so great as he has been painted.

First West Indian Expedition

While referring to his expeditions in the west (*pachima-disaṁ*) the record states that Khāravela, in the second year of his reign (*dutiye ca vase*), disregarding Śātakarṇi (*acitayita*

Sātakaṁṇiṁ) despatched (*paṭhāpayati*) an army, strong (*bahulaṁ daṁḍaṁ*) in cavalry (*haya*), elephants (*gaja*), infantry (*nara*) and chariots (*radha*), and by that army, having reached the Kañha-beṁṇā[48] (*Kañha-beṁṇāṁ-gatāya ca senāya*), he beseiged the city of Asikanagara[49] (*vitāsiti Asikanagaraṁ*). The importance of this passage cannot be fully revealed unless the identity of Śātakarṇi is determined. He is sometime identified with Śātakarṇi II, who ruled shortly after the husband of queen Nāganikā on the ground that palæographically the Hathigumpha inscription is slightly later than the Nanaghat record. Since these two records come from two distinct quarters, it is reasonable to overlook the slight palæographical difference between them, and to identify him with Śātakarṇi I. The passage, however, does not clearly state whether there was any actual trial of strength between Khāravela and Śātakarṇi I or that the city of Asikanagara formed a part of Śātakarṇi's dominions. In the absence of any such details the passage admits of being interpreted in any of the three ways :

First, the Kaliṅga and the Śātavāhana kings, being mutually well-disposed, Khāravela's militiamen passed through Śātakarṇi's territory unopposed.

Secondly, Khāravela, without paying any heed to the Śātavāhana monarch, attacked Asikanagara which lay in the southern part of Śātakarṇi's dominions.

Thirdly, having underestimated his might, the Kaliṅga king invaded the kingdom of Śātakarṇi but being defeated at his hands, moved towards Asikanagara where he became successful.[50]

The phraseology of the passage, however, seems to imply that Khāravela launched an attack against Śātakarṇi, but the absence of any expression like *pāde vaṁdāpayati*, as sometime used in the inscription, seems to show that it ended in disaster for the Kaliṅga monarch. Śātakarṇi I is credited in the Nanaghat record to have performed two horse sacrifices (*aśvamedhaḥ yajñaḥ dvitīyaḥ iṣṭaḥ*) and it might be that one of them was celebrated to commemorate his victory against his Kaliṅga adversary.

Khāravela's Campaign Against the Bhojakas and the Raṭhikas

Two years later Khāravela embarked upon his second expedition to the west, which seems to have borne more fruition as compared to the first one. Unfortunately the passage, recording this event, is badly mutilated. It begins with a reference to the abode of Vidyādhara or Vidyādharas (*Vijādhar = ādhivāsaṁ*), which was built up by the former rulers of Kaliṅga (*Kaliṅga-puva-rāja-nivesitaṁ*), but it remained undamaged (*ahata-puvaṁ*) till Khāravela's time. After this there is a ligature which is followed by the mention of the Raṭhikas[51] and Bhojakas (*sava-Raṭhika-Bhojake*), who were induced to pay homage to the Kaliṅga ruler (*pāde vaṁdāpayati*). Some scholars have sought to establish a connection between these two statements by inferring that Khāravela undertook campaigns against these two tribes, who had alienated him by invading the home of Vidyādhara, which they locate in Madhya Pradesh. This suggestion may not be accepted as there is nothing in the passage itself to prove the alleged violation by the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas. The first part of the passage may mean that the abode of Vidyādhara, which was evidently a religious edifice, fell into disrepair during the reign of Khāravela and was renovated accordingly. D. C. Sircar[52] construes the passage to mean that Khāravela occupied the capital of a prince named Vidyādhara. While on the one hand it is problematical whether Vidyādhara really denoted a prince, the above interpretation at the same time fails to explain how the capital of a rival king of Khāravela could have been built by the erstwhile Kaliṅga suzerains.

The mention of the Bhojakas and Raṭhikas, the subordinate allies under the Śātavāhanas, in the above passage, as being overpowered by the Kaliṅga king, is interesting. Once it is accepted that Khāravela's expedition against Śātakarṇi I proved to be abortive, it would probably follow that he would have led a campaign, sooner or later, against the latter's feudatories to avenge himself of his previous insults. If, on the contrary, it is held that Khāravela himself

inflicted a defeat upon Śātakarṇi I, it must be presumed that the Śātavāhana feudatories had shaken off the yoke of the Kaliṅga ruler and were to be reconquered. N. K. Sahu[53] propounds the view that the Raṭhika chief who had to sustain defeat at the hands of Khāravela was either Mahāraṭhi-Traṇa-kairo, who was the father-in-law of Śātakarṇi I or one of his successors, but this identification of the vanquished Raṭhika ruler is by no means certain.

South Indian Expedition

Khāravela's first and final southern expedition was launched in the eleventh year of his reign (*ekādasame ca vase*). He, in the course of this expedition, claims to have ploughed down with a plough of asses (*gadabha-naṁgalena kāsayati*) the city of Pīthuṁḍa, founded by a former king (*puvaṁ rāja-nivesitaṁ Pīthuṁḍaṁ*). Pīthuṁḍa (Sanskrit *Pṛthu-aṇḍa* or *Pṛthūda*) is taken to be the same as Ptolemy's Pitundra, the metropolis, in the land of the Maisoloi in the upper part of the Coromandal coast.[54] It cannot be definitely known how far the boastful claim of the Kaliṅga king conformed to reality.

K. P. Jayaswal suggests that in the same year Khāravela was involved in a combat with a 137 year-old (*terasa-vasa-satikaṁ*) confederacy of the Tamil countries (*Tramira-desa-saṁghātaṁ*). At present there is no evidence, however, to corroborate the existence of a Tamil confederation of 137 years in early times.[55] B. M. Barua denies any reference to a confederacy of the Tamil countries in the corresponding passage of the record, and he restores it to mean that Khāravela 'destroyed an accumulation of dark swamps that grew up in thirteen—and-thousand years (and) became a cause of anxiety to the country' (*terasa-vasa-sata-kataṁ bhidati tamira-daha saṁghātaṁ*). It has to be admitted that the reading *Tramira-desa* is not beyond doubt.

Khāravela's Relations with the Pāṇḍya Kingdom

The thirteenth line of the Hathigumpha record contains a reference to the Pāṇḍya king of the Far South, who is said to have submitted to the Kaliṅga ruler with enormous riches. This has led some scholars to assume that Khāravela had advanced up to the furthest limits of South India in the twelfth year of his reign. The relevant passage (*Pāmḍarāja . . . muta-mani-ratanāni āharāpayati*) may be interpreted to indicate that Khāravela did not himself lead an expedition against the Pāṇḍya king, but received some presents from him through his envoy. The friendly gesture of offering presents has probably been colourfully represented in the royal epigraph as an act of submission. The absence of any mention of the Colas in the epigraph is very significant in this connection.

Khāravela's Expedition in North India

Khāravela turned his attention to the North quite late in the reign. The details of his first expedition in this direction are given in the following words: 'With a large army (*mahatā sena*) having sacked Goradhagiri (*Goradhagiriṁ ghātāpayitā*), causes pressure (*upapīḍapayati*) to Rājagaha (*Rājagahaṁ*). On account of the loud report of this act of valour (*etinā ca kaṁmapadāna-saṁnādena*), the Yavana king Dimita (*Yavana-rāja Dimita*) retreated to Mathura (*Mathuraṁ apayāto*), having extricated his demoralised army and transport (*sena-vāhana*)'. Scholars are generally of opinion that Gorathagiri is identical with the Barabar hills[57], and Rājagṛha with modern Rajgir, both being located in Gaya district, Bihar. D. C. Sircar[58], while offering a new interpretation of the passage, maintains that Khāravela killed a king named Gorathagiri and pillaged his capital Rājagṛha. But during the time of Khāravela, Rājagṛha, as an integral part of Magadha, was probably under Bahasatimita. This difficulty may be avoided by the presumption that Rājagṛha, generally

taken to mean the famous place of its name, probably stands, in the present context, for the royal palace of king Gorathagiri. None need be surprised if Gorathagiri occurs as a personal name in the Hathigumpha inscription, because, an early Brāhmī epigraph[59] refers to a Buddhist monk called Yaśogiri and mention is made in the Jaina literature[60] of two Jaina apostles, named Mahāgiri and Siṁhagiri.

Besides Gorathagiri, the other ruler who finds mention in the above passage as an opponent of the Kaliṅga king, was the Yavanarāja Dimita. In the absence of any reference to an actual engagement between them it is uncertain whether they crossed their swords with each other. In any case, the reading Dimita or Ḍimita is doubtful.

Khāravela claims to have undertaken another expedition to the North in his twelfth regnal year (*bārasame ca vase*) in the course of which he sent spasms of fear into the rulers of *Uttarāpatha* (*vitāsayati Utarāpadha-rājāno*). Some scholars[61] are inclined to locate *Uttarāpatha* of the inscription in the north-western part of India, but such a view can hardly be accepted. The term is used in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* in a wider sense to mean the entire country lying between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas. This is probably the sense in which the term is employed in the record, as is indicated by the mention of Magadha, Aṅga and the Ganges in the passage. The epigraph next speaks of the people of Magadha, as being terrified by Khāravela (*Māgadhānaṁ ca vipulaṁ bhayaṁ janeto*). As regards other details of this campaign we may turn to the following lines :

hathasaṁ Gaṅgāya pāyayati / Māgadhaṁ ca rājānaṁ Bahasatimitaṁ pāde vaṁdāpayati / Naṁdarāja—nītaṁ ca Kāliṅga—jinaṁ saṁnivesa . . . Aṅga-Magadha-vasuṃ ca nayati[62] *//*

The exact reading and sense of the passage are rather nebulous. K. P. Jayaswal reads the expression *Gaṅgāya pāyayati* as *Sugaṅgīyaṁ pāyayati*, suggesting that Khāravela occupied the Sugāṅga palace, mentioned in the *Mudrārākṣasa*[63] as the residence of Candragupta Maurya. It has to be noted

that had the name of the palace been intended, the word would have been either *Sugaṅge* or *Sugaṅga-pāsāda*.[64] The passage would accordingly mean that Khāravela either made his elephants and horses drink the water of the Ganges, or he made them descend in the Ganges.[65]

Identification of Bahasatimita

The interpretation of the expression *Māgadhaṃ ca rājānaṃ Bahasatimitaṃ* is equally intricate. The *ca* between *Māgadhaṃ* and *rājānaṃ Bahasatimitaṃ* would reasonably imply that the Magadhan king and Bahasatimita were two distinct persons.[66] The passage again may mean that king Bahasatimita belonged to Magadha ; in that case we shall have to take *ca* as redundant (though, of course, the epigraph is written in prose style), or both *Māgadhaṃ* and *rājānaṃ* are to be supposed as two epithets of Bahasatimita, connected together by *ca*. Bahasatimita, who sustained reverses at the hands of Khāravela, may be identified with his namesake, mentioned in the Pabhosa and Mora inscriptions. He is probably the same Bahasatimita whose coins have been found at Kauśāmbī in quite large number. It is worth noticing that neither the Pabhosa nor the Mora record gives us any clue as to the region where Bahasatimita was ruling, and they do not furnish us with any details beyond stating that he was the sister's son of Āṣāḍhasena, and father of the queen of a Mathura king. If *Māgadha* be taken to be an attribute of Bahasatimita, we have to locate his kingdom in Magadha, and when we notice that his coins have been discovered at Kauśāmbī, we may conclude that possibly Bahasatimita wielded influence over both Magadha and Kauśāmbī. If, on the other hand, Bahasatimita was different from the Magadhan king, we may maintain, on the evidence of his coins, that he was ruling at Kauśāmbī, as a scion of the local Mitra dynasty.[67]

Khāravela had never been so successful in his life as he had been in his expedition against the king of Magadha. As

a result of his victory against the Magadhan suzerain he came to acquire the image of the Jina of Kaliṅga (*Kāliṅga-jinaṃ*), which had been previously taken away by king Nanda from Kaliṅga (*Naṃdarāja-nītaṃ*). K. P. Jayaswal[68] is of opinion that the Jina was the same as Śītalanātha, who was born at Bhadalapura, identified with modern Bhadrachalam in Godavari district. B. M. Barua[69] reads the expression differently as *Nadarāja-jita-Kaliṅga-jana-saṃnivesaṃ* and suggests that 'Khāravela did something in connection with the settlements of the Kaliṅga people, subjugated by king Nanda.' Jayaswal's reading appears to be preferable.[70]

Khāravela's Achievements in the Art of Peace

The evidence of the Hathigumpha inscription, in so far as non-political matters are concerned, may be supposed to be realistic at least to some extent. It depicts Khāravela, though we cannot deny absolutely the chance of exaggeration here also, as a benevolent ruler. Either in his first regnal year or shortly before his accession, the capital city of Kaliṅga was badly devastated by a cyclone (*vātā-vihata*) and Khāravela immediately set himself to the task of its repair (*paṭisaṁkhāra-yati*) at the expense of several thousand coins (*sata-sahasehi*). In his third regnal year he entertained his capital by an elaborate programme of festivities, which included village performances (*dapa*), dancing (*nata*), singing (*gīta*), instrumental music (*vādita-saṃdasanāhi*), merry gatherings (*usava-samāja*), etc. The record of his fifth regnal year tells us that the king extended from the Tanasuliya road (*Tanasuliya-vāṭā*) a canal (*panāḍi*), that was originally excavated (*oghāṭitaṃ*) by king Nanda. There is no doubt that this was done in order to supply adequate water to peasants for irrigation in all seasons. On another occasion Khāravela 'bestowed (unprecedented) favours on the inhabitants of towns and districts (*porajāna-padaṃ*) by remitting (*visajati*) all taxes and duties (*sava-kara-vaṇa*), amounting to many hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin)'[71] (*anekaṃ sata-sahasāni*).

Khāravela's Religious Policy

In his faith Khāravela was a devout Jaina, as may be gleaned from the preamble of his record (*namo arhaṃtānaṃ, namo sava-sidhānaṃ |*). He espoused the cause of Jainism by excavating a number of caves in the Kumārī hill for the Jaina recluses (*Kumārī-pavate arhatehi . . . jīva-deha-sayikā parikhātā*). Jayaswal reads the expression *jīva-deha-sayikā* as *jīva-dehasirikā* to mean that Khāravela realised the nature of *jīva* and *deha*, the two abstruse doctrines of Jaina philosophy. The reading of this passage is uncertain. Prinsep reads it as *ji . . . deta*, Cunningham, *jivimaka*, and Barua suggests *sayikā* for *sirikā*. D. C. Sircar[72] accepts Barua's reading and gives its Sanskrit rendering as *jīvadehaśrayikāḥ* or *jīvadeh=āśraya-guhāḥ*. Jayaswal's hyopthesis that the Kaliṅga monarch summoned in the thirteenth year of his reign, a conference with the object of compiling the lost *Aṅgas* also does not bear scrutiny. B. M. Barua[73] rightly interprets the passage in the following words :

'It is . . . by a misinterpretation of the meaning of the statement *coyaṭha—aṃga satikaṃ upādayati* that he (Jayaswal) came to suggest that Khāravela "compiled expeditiously the text of the seven-fold *Aṃgas* of the sixty-four (letters)". The statement intends mentioning certain scenes of music produced among the decorative sculptures in an edifice which was erected at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousand coins.'

As pointed out earlier, Jayaswal's observation that Khāravela recovered for his country the image of the Kaliṅga-Jina is probably based on the correct interpretation of the text. It is, however, doubtful whether the Kaliṅga Jina should be identified with Śītalanātha, as proposed by Jayaswal, or with any other Jina or Tīrthaṅkara[74], for the expression *Kāliṁga-Jina* means either the image of the Jina of Kaliṅga, or the image of a certain Jina, preserved in Kaliṅga.[75] Though an ardent devotee of Jainism, Khāravela did not show disregards towards other religions. The inscription clearly describes him

as paying reverence to every sect (*sava-pāsaṁḍa-pūjako*) and repairing all temples (*sava-dev=āyatana-saṃkhāra-kārako*).

The Private Life of Khāravela

It is rather unfortunate that we know very little regarding the private life of Khāravela. K. P. Jayaswal[76] finds in the Hathigumpha inscription a reference to one of the wives of the Kaliṅga monarch, named Vajiraghara who bore a son for the king in his seventh regnal year (*Satamaṃ ca vasaṃ pasāsato Vajiraghara-vati ghusita-gharinisa-matuka-pada-puṃnakuma*). B. M. Barua[77] takes the passage to mean that 'Khāravela organised a pompous religious procession for visiting the holy spot on Mt. Samataka or Sameta' (*asasata-vijiraghara-khatiya-sata-ghaṭani Samataka-pūdaṣaṃna-saṃtipada*), which he has identified with the Pareshnath hill. Since the passage, concerned, is very much mutilated, both the readings are in the realm of probability. His chef queen was the daughter of the great-grandson of king Hastisiṁha who probably belonged to the Lalāka lineage (*rājino-Lalākasa-Hathisīha-saṁpanātasa dhutunā*). It is interesting to observe that this royal lady added a glorious feather to the cap of the Cedi family by constructing (*kāritaṁ*) the Vaikuṇṭhapura or the upper storey of the Manchapuri cave for Jaina ascetics. S. C. De[78] thinks that the sculptural scenes of the Ranigumpha and Manchapuri caves describe some of the memorable events of Khāravela's life like his triumphant march to the capital from a victorious campaign, visit to the royal shrine to offer worship and the installation of the image of the Kaliṅga-Jina. This view is based on the identification of king Khāravela with the person with an umbrella over him, represented in two or three places in the frieze of these caves, which cannot be considered as certain.

Duration of Reign

That Khāravela ruled for at least thirteen (K. P. Jayaswal) or fourteen (B. M. Barua) years is evidenced by his inscription,

but we are intrigued to ascertain the actual duration of his reign. The method, that has been adopted in the Hathigumpha record to highlight the achievements of the king, clearly demonstrates that the State Publicity Department was highly an active one. Had Khāravela lived for a few years more, another record would have been incised by the department. It can thus be surmised that Khāravela's rule terminated shortly after the incision of the Hathigumpha record when he was barely thirty-eight years old.[79]

Later Cedi Rulers

The history of the Cedis of Kaliṅga following the death of Khāravela is enveloped in darkness. An inscription incised in the verandah of the lower storey of the Manchapuri cave mentions a king whose name is restored as Vakradeva by D. C. Sircar[80], Kūdepa by B. M. Barua[81], Kūḍepa by R. D. Banerji and Vakadepa by Indraji. This king, who styled himself *Ārya, Mahārāja* and *Māhāmeghavāhana*, seems to have ruled after Khāravela, but in the absence of any cogent evidence it is difficult to agree with B. M. Barua that he was the immediate successor of Khāravela and son by his chief queen. G. V. Rao[82], who read the name of this king as Kudepa Siri, opined that his name alludes to the prevalence of the Śātavāhana influence in Orissa. This proposition does not appear to be at all convincing, because, the term *Siri* is also found suffixed to the name of Khāravela at least once in the Hathigumpha inscription. Another inscription from the same storey of the Manchapuri cave bears the name of a prince called Vaḍukha who might have been related to the previous ruler 'either as brother or as son, more probably as son.' They, however, appear to be mere *roi faineants* and no details about them are recorded.[83]

A Critical Study of Jayaswal's Theory

K. P. Jayaswal[84] has reached on the strength of seven

Sanskrit verses, appearing in an Oriya manuscript, which is reported to be preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the following conclusions :

(i) The kings of Magadha subjugated Kaliṅga but king Aira liberated the country by inflicting a crushing defeat upon a Nanda king ;
(ii) King Aira was a staunch antagonist of Aśoka ;
(iii) Aira had formerly his capital in the city of Kosalā in South Kosala but it was subsequently shifted to Ekaprastara around the Khaṇḍagiri hill ;
(iv) Unlike the Nandas who were Vedic orthodox Hindus Aira was a heterodox.

But the manuscript, in question, can hardly be regarded as dependable, because, experts have generally assigned it to the 16th century A.D. B. M. Barua[85] has further shown that 'the story in the Sanskrit verses is a curious medley of a certain result of the misunderstanding of Khāravela's inscription and a certain legend in the *Purāṇas*'.

Mahārāja Mānasada

A Prākṛt inscription[86] of about the first half of the second century A.D., discovered from the village of Velpuru in Guntur district, mentions a king named Mānasada (*Gala-yasa aīrasa Mahārāyasa Hāritiputasa siri-Mānasadasa*). The fact that like Khāravela he bears the epithet *aira* in the epigraph has led some scholars to assign Mānasada to the Cedi dynasty of Kaliṅga. But the absence of any reference to the Cedi-Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty in the Velpuru inscription, the use of a metronymic like *Hārītīputra* by Mānasada and further the fact that the term *aira* is not a dynastic designation, would make the theory highly improbable.[87]

Some Minor Inscriptions of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri

Scholars believe that for palæographic reasons the follow-

ing epigraphs may be approximately assigned to the contemporary period :

(i) the Vyagragumpha inscription of Bhūti[88];
(ii) the Sarpagumpha inscription of Kaṁma, Halakhiṇā and Culakṁma ;
(iii) the Pavanagumpha inscription of Culakṁma ;
(iv) the Jambesvara cave inscription of Mahāmada, Bāriyā and Nākiya ;
(v-vi) two Tattvagumpha inscriptions ;
(vii) the Anantagumpha inscription.

As regards the provenance of these records it may be stated that the first five are incised at the Udayagiri hill, whereas, the remaining ones are to be found at the Khaṇḍagiri hill. The issuers of these records do not appear to have been crown holders, as would appear from the absence of any royal title attributed to them ; but they were probably some important personalities, including government officers and wealthy merchants. Some of them might have been foreigners, who visited this place either for the purpose of pilgrimage or trade and commerce.[89]

The Śātavāhana Kings and Orissa

We have no definite information about the political condition of Orissa during the period following the dismemberment of the Cedi dynasty. In his *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 83 R. D. Banerji remarks : 'after Kūḍepasiri the pall of dense darkness again descends on the history of Kaliṅga and most probably the country was subjugated by the Śātavāhanas before their conquest of Magadha in the first century B.C.' The theory of the Śātavāhana occupation of Orissa, as propounded by R. D. Banerji, and subsequently endorsed by scholars like G. V. Rao[90] and Gopalachari[91], is generally based on the following two evidences :

First, the Nasik inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī describes Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi as the lord of the mountains of Vijha,

Chavata, Pāricāta, Sahya, Kaṇhagiri, Maca, Siritana, Malaya, Mahida, Seṭagiri and Cakora. Of these mountains Mahida, i.e., Mahendra is located in Kaliṅga, being identified with the Eastern Ghats between the Mahanadi and the Godavari rivers, part of which near Ganjam is still known as Mahinda Malei. The mention of the Mahendra in the list of mountains, found in the Nasik record, is taken as a proof of the inclusion of at least Southern Orissa within the Śātavāhana empire during the reign of Gautamīputra.

Secondly, it is sometime held that an allusion to the Śātavāhana rule in Orissa is contained in the *Yuga Purāṇa* section of the *Gārgīsaṁhitā* which states, 'At the close (of the period) that powerful chief of the Śakas, who was wicked and unholy, will invade the country of the Kaliṅgas being actuated by greed. Attempting to seize the territories of the ruler of the Kaliṅgas, belonging to the Śāta (that is Śātavāhana) family, he will lose his life (in the campaign) ; and the dense hordes of detestable Śakas will, without fail, be destroyed by the volleys of arrows. Then that king who was the flower of the Śāta family, will, with his forces, conquer the (Magadha) land, at the end of the tenth year (after the conquest) will give up his ghost.' The aforesaid passage, has again been taken to imply that a king, named Śāta, belonging to the Śātavāhana lineage, exercised his sway over the Kaliṅga country.

The above arguments however, do not stand the test of scrutiny. When critically studied, the details of the Nasik record cannot be interpreted to suggest the inclusion of Kaliṅga within the Śātavāhana rule, but they appear to show Gautamīputra's conventional claim to overlordship over the whole of the peninsula. We can note similarly the statement which refers to his chargers having drunk the water of three oceans (*ti-samuda-toya-pita-vāhana*). The fact that the Nasik inscription, while giving a list of the countries under the sway of Gautamīputra[92] (c. A.D. 106-30), does not refer to Kaliṅga, strengthens the presumption that the country lay beyond the jurisdiction of the Śātavāhanas. In fact, the evidences at

our disposal indicate that his rule was restricted to the western part of the Deccan along with some portions of Rajasthan and Malwa and did not include any territory in the Eastern Deccan.[93] There is no doubt that the coins of some of the early Śātavāhana rulers have been found from Guntur, Kondapuram and Pedabankura, but their findings would lead us to no sure conclusion when we take into account the fact that they might have been brought by traders and pilgrims to these coastal regions of Andhra Pradesh which had been carrying on trade and commerce with different countries of the world. The region about the mouth of the river Kṛṣṇā was for the first time brought under the Śātavāhana rule during the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi (c. A.D. 130-59)[94], as would appear from the discovery of his inscription at Amaravati as well as a large number of his coins in the same area.

Similarly unconvincing is the second argument based on the evidence of the *Yuga Purāṇa*. It is true that the expression *Kaliṅga-Śāta-rājyārthi* alludes to some sort of connection of the Śātavāhanas with the kingdom of Kaliṅga, but as has been pointed out : 'On this point the account of the *Yuga Purāṇa* is a highly unhistorical one. Such a source can only be taken into consideration when corroborated by other evidences.' Can it not be suggested that the original form of the above mentioned expression was *Kaliṅga-Ceta-rājyārthi*, and that the transformation of the *Ceta* into *Śāta* was made by the copyists who were ignorant of the Cetas, i.e., Cedis, but quite familiar with the more well-known peninsular dynasty ? This, by no means, appears to be an absurd proposition as we remember the comment made by Alberuni on the errors that have crept into the *Purāṇas* through copyists' ignorance.

It is thus evident that we have no evidences at our disposal to prove that the Śātavāhanas had ever conquered Orissa, as it has been held by R. D. Banerji and other scholars. Although the kings of the Śātavāhana dynasty are not known to have been connected with Orissa, there are reasons to believe that

a considerable portion of Orissa was under the domination of the Imperial Kuṣāṇa rulers'.[95]

The Kuṣāṇa Rule in Orissa

It is well-known that quite a large number of the Kuṣāṇa and the so-called Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins have been discovered from different parts of Orissa and the discovery of these coins throws light upon the obscure history of the province in the second century and the last quarter of the first century A.D. Hoernle is of opinion that the so-called Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins, destitute as they were of any political significance, were mere temple tokens, but inasmuch as they have been found from different parts of Orissa, instead of the Puri region alone, in large numbers, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that they were used as currency in the country for a certain period of time. Vincent Smith holds the view that they might have been issued by the rulers of Kaliṅga in the fourth or fifth century A.D. P. Acharya[96] advocates that the so-called Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins represent the coinage of the kings of Orissa who flourished in the Gupta period of Indian history and were quite independent of the Gupta emperors. Allan[97] assigns the various hoards to the third or early fourth century A.D. T. N. Ramachandran[98] likewise assigns them to the fourth century A.D. on the ground that the imitation Kuṣāṇa coins from Sitabhinji were found in the vicinity of a tempera painting, belonging on grounds of style and palæography of an inscription on it, to the fourth century A.D.

While fixing the date of these coins we should not fail to note that the majority of the imitation Kuṣāṇa coins were found in association with the Imperial Kuṣāṇa coins, and this would unmistakably point to the contemporaneity of these two groups of coins. The inscribed coins of the so-called Puri-Kuṣāṇa series might have been slightly later in date than the remaining ones, but to assign them to a period as late as the sixth century A D. is unjustifiable. A. C. Banerji[99] rightly

points out: 'The most time honoured mistake that has been made in assessing the palæography of the legends is to date them by our knowledge derived from stone inscriptions. The nature and quality of each of these materials impose certain amount of caution in adjudicating their dates. Die-makers and stone-cutters are two totally different propositions . . . . what is more, metal is less tractable than stone and lent itself more easily to cursive forms.' Accordingly, we may conclude that the imitation Kuṣāṇa coins were in circulation in Orissa simultaneously with the coins of the Kuṣāṇa emperors, Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka.

P. L. Gupta[100], while attempting to fix the date of the Kuṣāṇa currency in the eastern part of India, maintains that the Kuṣāṇa coins were current in Orissa in the period when the Kuṣāṇa empire had ceased to exist in Northern India. He has based this observation mainly on the ground that in the course of archæological excavation conducted at Sisupalgarh, near Bhubaneswar, in 1948, a copper coin of Huviṣka was found in a layer ascribable to the last quarter of the second century A.D. Leaving aside the questionable nature of the strategraphical division of the soil at Sisupalgarh, we may strike a note of caution to the effect that it is unsafe to jump to an important conclusion on the evidence of a solitary coin alone, unless it is not corroborated by other evidences. In fact, there is no evidence at present which contradicts the presumption that the Imperial Kuṣāṇa coins were current in Orissa during the reigns of Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka. We fail to appreciate how the coins of the Kuṣāṇas, instead of being current in Orissa during the period of their rule, came to be introduced at a subsequent period by the independent kings of the land.

How would we then explain the presence of the Kuṣāṇa and the so-called Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins in Orissa in the second century and the last quarter of the first century A.D.? As already stated, these coins, which are made of copper, comprise a few thousands, and not a few specimens, as in the case

of Bengal and Bihar. It, however, may be suggested, on the analogy of the recovery of some hundreds of Roman *dinarius* in the Indian coast, as is actually done by some scholars, that these coins infiltrated into Orissa by way of trade and commerce. While we agree to believe that gold and silver coins to some extent can be carried to distant lands without implying any political occupation, the same argument cannot be advanced for explaining the presence of thousands of copper coins in Orissa. Copper coins do not travel long. They were generally issued for the purpose of local transactions of the people. If, therefore, they are found in abundance at numerous places in Orissa, it may be inferred tentatively that Orissa was conquered by the Kuṣāṇas by the time of Kaṇiṣka I.

Indeed, once the theory of the Kuṣāṇa occupation of Orissa is accepted, the abundant use of the so-called Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins in the province can be satisfactorily explained. The Kuṣāṇa emperors ruled their vast dominions through Viceroys and it is not unlikely that they adopted the same policy in Orissa. A large number of Kuṣāṇa coins were evidently supplied to the outlying province from the Imperial mint at certain interval of times, but this supply to Orissa from a distant centre being irregular and inadequate, the provincial governors were possibly empowered to issue coins on the basis of the Kuṣāṇa originals. The poor workmanship of the imitation coins demonstrates the utter inefficiency of the Oriya mint-masters in contrast with the remarkable dexterity of their Imperial counterparts. The provenance of, and the features in, the so-called Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins indicate that they were not issued by any minor local dynasty of Orissa, but by a line of administrators who had no claim to sovereignty, but still were in charge of a very extensive region. History does not record any such ruling family in Orissa in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and unless we connect it with the Kuṣāṇa viceregal family, there is no convincing explanation for the wide circulation of the imitation Kuṣāṇa coins at any

period of Orissa history. The practice of issuing coins by feudatories or sub-kings on behalf of their suzerains seems to have been prevalent among the Indo-Greeks also. Coins reveal the existence of about thirty such kings, who 'have to be placed within a period of less than 170 years (Demetrius-Eucratides to the advent of the Śakas in the Punjab)'[101]. Some of these rulers were definitely sub-kings, since it is extremely unlikely that all of them reigned in succession within such a short space of time.

Besides the numismatic, the following evidences seem to support the theory of the Kuṣāṇa occupation of Orissa :

1. The lower storey of the Ranigumpha cave contains a few life-size figures of Dvārapālas which remind us of the Kuṣāṇa soldiers, armed with spears.

2. The *Yuga Purāṇa* section of the *Gārgīsaṁhitā*[102] preserves the reminiscence of Śaka, i.e., Kuṣāṇa expeditions in Orissa. Although divergent views have been expressed on the subject, the two facts, besides others, that Kuṣāṇas spoke pure Khotani Śaka and used Scythian costumes and weapons, support the theory of their Scythian origin to which stock the Śakas also belonged.

3. A few Nāga images[103] discovered from Bhubaneswar betray some affinity to the Kuṣāṇa school of sculpture.

It is worth noting that without at least the temporary subjugation of Eastern India the Kuṣāṇa rulers could hardly push their conquest to Orissa. Some scholars uphold that the Kuṣāṇa empire did not extend in the east beyond Banaras, where at Sarnath a Bodhisattva image, dated in the third regnal year of Kaṇiṣka, was discovered. The literary and archæological evidences, however, seem to suggest the inclusion of Eastern India within the Kuṣāṇa dominions. Both Lāmā Tāranātha and the Chinese biographer of Aśvaghoṣa record that Kaṇiṣka attacked Magadha in order to get hold of the Buddhist scholar Aśvaghoṣa.[104] If the Chinese translation of Kumāralata's *Kalpanāmaṇḍiṭikā*[105] is to be taken as authentic, Kia-ni-ch'a (i.e., Kaṇiṣka) took possession of

Tien-chu (Eastern India) and established peace in the country. As it has been shown, 'Eastern India, in the Buddhist annals signified the region to the east of Ku-chu-wen-ki-lo or Kajaṅgala near the Rajmahal hills in Eastern Bihar'[106]. In support of the theory of the Kuṣāṇa occupation of Eastern India attention may be drawn to the following list of finds of the Kuṣāṇa age: (a) 105 Kuṣāṇa copper coins, found at Sahet-Mahet in the cell of a monastery in the excavation of 1908-9; (b) 100 copper coins of Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka, found in the village of Bindwal in Azamgarh district; (c) the Nai (in Azamgarh district) hoards of Kuṣāṇa copper coins; (d) a big hoard of several hundred Kuṣāṇa copper coins from Sidhari in the outskirts of the Azamgarh town; (e) a gold coin of Huviṣka, discovered in Belwadaga thana and a copper coin of Kaṇiṣka in Kara thana of Ranchi district; (f) three coins of Wema Kadphises, 12 of Kaṇiṣka and 30 of Huviṣka, recovered in the course of excavations at Kumarahar and Bulandibagh; (g) the Buxer hoard of Kuṣāṇa copper coins, including 23 of Wema Kadphises, 159 of Kaṇiṣka, 172 of Huviṣka, etc.; (h) a few Kuṣāṇa copper coins collected from Champaran district; (i) a copper coin of Kaṇiṣka, found in 1882 at Tamluk in Midnapur district; (j) a base metal coin of Vāsudeva, recovered in Murshidabad district; (k) a gold coin of Vāsudeva, unearthed in 1909 in Bogra district; (l) and three Kuṣāṇa coins from North Bengal. Any of the above evidences alone can hardly prove the extension of the Kuṣāṇa power in the region to the east of Banaras, but their cumulative evidence cannot be set aside lightly.

We have already seen that the dwindling of Cedi power in Orissa may in all probability be ascribed to the act of military aggrandisement by the Kuṣāṇa emperors. The present state of our knowledge does not allow us to ascertain either the actual duration or the extent of the Kuṣāṇa rule in the province. In fact, with the passing away of the Cedi rule we enter into what may be characterised as the dark age in the early annals of Orissa. The unfatigued zeal of archæologists,

no doubt, has uncovered a few materials which would throw light on the history of the contemporary epoch, but the information obtained therefrom, is hardly capable of presenting us with a connected and fair picture of the period.

Mahārāja Dharmadāmadhara

A. S. Altekar[107] is of opinion that in the third century A.D. a part of Orissa, along with portions of Bihar, was under the domination of the Muruṇḍas who had their capital at Pāṭaliputra. He has based his conclusion on the evidence of a gold coin of one Dharmadāmadhara, found at Sisupalgarh which bears the legend *Mahārājarājādhirāja-Dharmadāmadharasya.* It is difficult to agree to the theory, as propounded by A. S. Altekar, of the Muruṇḍa origin of king Dharmadāmadhara, who was in all likelihood a local ruler of Orissa. There is hardly any positive evidence to prove the territorial suzerainty of the Muruṇḍas over Orissa. The Muruṇḍas were a powerful tribe who lived in the Gangetic valley in Eastern India in the second and third centuries A.D. The *Geography* of Ptolemy represents them as occupying the right bank of the Ganges, while Oppien describes them as a 'Gangetic people living in the Indian plains'. The Jaina and Chinese traditions seem to associate the Muruṇḍa kings with the famous city of Pāṭaliputra. The Jaina text *Bṛhatkalpavṛtti*, as quoted in the *Abhidhānarājendra*[108] mentions a Muruṇḍa king as ruling at Pāṭaliputra, whose queen is said to have embraced Jainism. The *Siṁhāsanadvātṛṁśikā* tells us that Kānyakubja or Kanauj was once under the sway of a Muruṇḍa king. Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* places the Muruṇḍas in Lampaka, the present Laghman region. It is worth noting that our known sources do not associate the Muruṇḍas with any part of Orissa.

Mahārāja Gaṇa

An inscription[109] from a village near Bhadrak, Balasore

district, mentions an early king of Orissa, named Gaṇa who was ruling over the ancient Utkala country in the latter half of the third century A.D. He is given the title of *Mahārāja* and is known to have ruled at least up to the eighth year of his reign when the present epigraph was incised. K. C. Panigrahi[110], who has read the king's name as Śūraśarmmā, suggests that he was a local chieftain, holding a subordinate rank under a sovereign power. As there are numerous instances of independent rulers assuming the title of *Mahārāja* in the third and fourth centuries A.D., it is highly probable that *Mahārāja* Gaṇa was ruling over his principality as an indepeudent sovereign. D. C. Sircar[111] also thinks that *Mahārāja* Gaṇa was an independent monarch like the kings of Puskaraṇa and that his family was probably overthrown by the Gupta emperor Candragupta II when the latter embarked upon a career of conquest of the 'whole world'.[112]

Orissa Under the Imperial Guptas

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta reveals that in the first half of the fourth century A.D. Orissa was split up into several principalities, ruled by petty chieftains. The names of at least six such kings and their respective territories are known to us. They are :

1. Mahendra of Kosala. This Kosala is definitely the same as Dakṣiṇa-Kosala.

2. Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra. G. Ramdas[113] identified this place with the Jhadkhand tract of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam districts. S. Chattopadhyaya[114], who has equated it with Mahāvana of an early inscription, located the place in the present Jeypore forest region in Orissa. Bhandarkar[115] wrongly suggested long ago that Vyāghrarāja was identical with the Ucchakalpa king Vyāghra who ruled over the old Jaso and Ajaigarh States in Bundelkhand as a feudatory of the Vākāṭakas.

3. Mahendragiri of Piṣṭapura. It is present Pithapuram in Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh.

4. Svāmidatta of Koṭṭura. J. Dubreuil identified the place with modern Kothoor in Ganjam district.

5. Damana of Eraṇḍapalla. Its identification with Erandapali near Chicacole, as proposed by J. Dubreuil, is fairly certain. Fleet placed it at Erandol, the chief town of the sub-division of the same name in Khandesh district. G. Ramdas[116] located it at Yandipalli in Vizagapatam or at Endapilli in Ellora taluk.

6. Kubera of Devarāṣṭra. Scholars like V. Smith proposed to identify this place with Maharastra in Western India. It may be identified with the modern Yellamanchili tract in Vizagapatam district.

But these kings of Orissa could hardly enjoy their independent status for long, as they were forced to suffer reverses at the hands of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta. Two factors seem to have inspired the Gupta monarch to lead an expedition in the eastern sector of the Deccan. First, quite a large number of thriving centres of trade and commerce were located in the sea-board of Orissa and the Gupta emperor was probably seized by the desire of bringing them under his control. Secondly, an effective paramountcy over the Eastern Deccan would surely have facilitated the task of keeping the Vākāṭakas, who by that time had emerged as the dominant power in the western horizon, under control.[117] It is, therefore, evident that not merely political, but economic consideration also, must have prompted Samudragupta to launch an expedition in the South. The manner in which the kingdoms of Dakṣiṇāpatha are enumerated in the Allahabad record leads us to assume that while advancing southwards, Samudragupta followed the unfrequented route through the hills and jungles of Chattisgarh, avoiding the more convenient route across West Bengal. It is not known whether the kings ruling over the north-eastern part of Orissa were subjugated or left unmolested by the Gupta emperor before

he had advanced further to the south, although R. C. Majumdar[118] has accepted the first suggestion.

Notwithstanding his overwhelming success, the northern emperor was not destined to alter the political structure of these states. The Allahabad *Praśasti* makes us believe that instead of annexing their territories to his growing empire, he liberated and reinstated the defeated kings in their respective kingdoms. Samudragupta's act of reinstalling the South Indian kings has given rise to the speculation that the Gupta emperor was induced to adopt such a course of action due to his discomfiture at the hands of his southern contemporaries who fought shoulder to shoulder under the stewardship of two kings, Maṇṭarāja of Kurāla and Viṣṇugopa of Kāñcī.[119] But it may be pointed out that there is not the slightest evidence bearing witness to any such victory of the southern potentates over the northern emperor. Similarly untenable is the theory of H. C. Raychaudhury[120], who envisages that Samudragupta's unwillingness to annex the southern states was due to his realisation of the utter absurdity of maintaining permanent control over these kingdoms which lay far away from his base. The reason why Samudragupta reinstated the southern potentates after having defeated them seems to be entirely different. A close study of the Allahabad inscription reveals that when the Gupta emperor was engaged in the south, some kings of Āryāvarta possibly seized opportunity 'to cause fresh outbreaks in the North and so the Gupta monarch hurried back (from the South) to meet the new situation'[121]. The defeated kings of Orissa acknowledged the submission of the retreating emperor on a political gimmick, but in reality this submission was far from being meaningful and they continued to rule over their principalities as independent sovereigns, as they did previously.

The following evidences would make us believe, however, that the Imperial Guptas had not to await long to establish their rule over Orissa and the adjoining regions :

First, the use of the Gupta era is found in several inscrip-

tions including the Ganjam plates of the Śailodbhava chief Mādhavavarman II of the year 300 (A.D. 619), Araṇg (Raipur district, Madhya Pradesh) plate[122] of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena of South Kosala of the year 282 (A.D. 601), Patiakella (Cuttack district) plates[123] of *Mahārāja* Śivarāja of the year 283 (A.D. 602) and Soro plates[124] of Śambhuyaśas of Tosalī of the year 260 (A.D. 579).

Secondly, Gupta coins and sculptures[125], displaying the influence of Gupta art tradition, have been discovered from Orissa.

Thirdly, though actually not in Orissa proper, but in South Kosala have been found a few coins[126] of the kings of Śarạbhapura which bear unmistakable Gupta influence.

Fourthly, the most important evidence of the Gupta rule in Orissa is furnished by the discovery of the Sumandala plates[127] of *Mahārāja* Dharmarāja. The inscription mentions that in the Gupta year 250 *Mahārāja* Dharmarāja was ruling in the Khallikot area of the present Ganjam district as a subordinate king under Pṛthivīvigraha-bhaṭṭāraka, the ruler of the Kaliṅga-*rāṣṭra* which formed a part of the Gupta kingdom (*varttamāna-Guptarājye*). It may thus be inferred that in the latter half of the sixth century A.D. Orissa acknowledged its allegiance to the Imperial Gupta dynasty and constituted a viceroyalty under Dharmarāja.[128]

Fifthly, last but not the least in point of importance is the evidence of the Pedda-Dugam plates[129] discovered in Narasannapeta taluk of Srikakulam district, Andhra. This record which is assigned to the first half of the fifth century A.D. was issued by Śatrudamana who is given the epithets *Mahārāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigṛhītaḥ* i.e., favoured by his overlord. It is interesting to remember that the feudatories and subordinate allies of the Gupta emperors are sometime known to have adopted the styles *Mahārāja* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka pādānudhyātaḥ* or *Paramabhaṭṭārakapāda-parigṛhītaḥ*. Judged against this background it seems that Śatrudamana possibly owed allegiance to a Gupta overlord.[130]

The evidences, adduced above, would point to the establishment of the Gupta rule in Orissa, although the period of its inception cannot precisely be determined. But in all probability the fresh Gupta conquest of Orissa should have taken place possibly after the death of Samudragupta but prior to the termination of Skandagupta's rule by c. A.D. 467, as the successors of the latter were not powerful enough to carry on their conquests to such a far off land. Among the three kings who occupied the Imperial throne at this interval, Candragupta II's chance of conquering Orissa seems to be preferred, because, though in a separate context, he is described in an epigraphic record to have set out on the conquest of the world (*kṛtsna-pṛthvī-jay=ārtha*) which might have included Orissa.

It is not impossible to determine with the help of a few available epigraphic records how long Orissa continued to owe allegiance to the Imperial power. If the testimony of the Sumandala plates is to be relied upon, it has to be assumed that the Gupta supremacy remained unimpaired in the Ganjam region as late as A.D. 569. According to the generally accepted theory Gupta power dwindled by about A.D. 551, 231 years after it had beed founded in A.D. 319. The emergence of the Maukharis and the Later Guptas as Imperial power before A.D. 554 lends support to this view. Thus the continuity of the Gupta rule up to A.D. 569 is in contradiction with our known facts of history of the period. Recently D. C. Sircar has shown that according to one tradition recorded in the Jaina work *Triloka-prajñapti* by Yati Vṛṣabha, the Gupta rule lasted for a period of 232 years, whereas, according to another tradition, mentioned in the same work, the Guptas reigned for 255 years. In this context D. C. Sircar[131] observes : 'As the two traditions are found in the same work and are not separated by a wide gap, it is permissible to think that the author had in view two altogether different traditions on the same subject. It appears that the first one relates to the expulsion of Gupta rule from their home

province in Bihar and U.P. and the second refers to the final overthrow of the Guptas from Bengal and Orissa. If such was the case, the first event took place about 551 A.D. and the second about 575 A.D.

Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra

The discovery of a copper plate grant[132], dated in the first regnal year of Gopacandra from the village of Jayarampur in Balasore district has posed a problem for Indologists. The record shows that a portion of Balasore district was included in the kingdom of Gopacandra, being possibly placed under the charge of an officer named Vijayavarman. The date of Gopacandra has not yet been settled beyond dispute, but when certain facts are taken into consideration, a date in the second quarter of the sixth century A.D. would not be improbable for him.[133] Thus while the Gupta rule was recognised in the Ganjam area as late as A.D. 569, a part of Northern Orissa had already passed into the hands of Gopacandra who was in all probability a *de jure* independent sovereign. It is equally possible that Gopacandra ruled as a *de facto* independent king under the nominal suzerainty of the Guptas.

REFERENCES

1. *Ṛgveda*, VIII, 5, 37-39.
2. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, I, p. 52; N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 48; *AGI*, p. 725.
3. *AIU*, p. 9.
4. Vijayasena in his Deopara inscription claims that he belonged to an illustrious family of rulers which came from South India (*Dākṣiṇātya-kṣoṇīndraiḥ*). A similar

claim was made by Lakṣmaṇasena in the Madhainagar grant (*Karṇāṭa-kṣatriyānāṁ*).

5. *AEHO*, p. 263.
6. Line 17 of the Hathigumpha inscription reads as *Rājasi Vasu-kula-viniśrito*.

7. This epithet was likewise borne by Viśākhamitra who ruled over Magadha in the second century A.D. (*EI*, XXXI, pp. 229 ff.) and Mānasada who held sway over the Krishna-Guntur region in the first half of the second century A.D. (*EI*, XXXII, pp. 82 ff.). The forms *ayira* and *aira* are found in the Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda inscriptions.

8. *HO*, I, p. 72.
9. *AEHO*, p. 257.
10. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 470. According to Barua the usual patronymic from Ila is not Aila, but Aiḷeya.
11. *JBORS*, III, p. 434.
12. *AIU*, p. 212.
13. We may cite in this connection the following extracts from the *Śabdakalpadrumaḥ*, Chapter I, p. 190 : *Satkul=odbhavaḥ ity=Amaraḥ/pūjyaḥaḥ/śreṣṭhvṛddhaḥiti Śabdaratnāvalī || saṁgataḥity=Ajayaḥ || mānyaḥ, udāracaritaḥ śāntacittaḥyathāRāmayaṇe 3 kāṇḍe |*
14. *HO*, I, p. 74. The conclusion is based on the fact that the *Purāṇas* describe Kaliṅga as a country which was geographically contiguous to the mythical *strī-rājya*.
15. The description is found in the Vaikunthapura cave inscription (*IHQ*, XIV, p. 159).
16. K. P. Jayaswal (*EI*, XX, p. 80) ; D. C. Sircar (*AIU*, p. 212) ; A. C. Mittal (*AEHO*, p. 243).
17. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 471. K. P. Jayaswal and A. C. Mittal also hold the same opinion. According to the *Purāṇas*, the Meghas, who were nine in number, were the rulers of South Kosala and were very powerful and intelligent.
18. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 473.
19. *AIU*, p. 212.
20. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 160.

21. *JBORS*, III, pp. 425 ff ; ibid, IV, pp. 364 ff ; ibid, XIII, pp. 221 ff ; ibid, IV, pp. 486 ff ; *EI*, XX, pp. 74-7.
22. *Actes du Sixieme Congres International des Orientalistes*, pt. III, pp. 152 ff.
23. *EI*, X, pp. 160-61.
24. *JRAS* (1910), pp. 242 ff.
25. *EHI*, p. 207.
26. *CHI*, pp. 112-13.
27. Buhler (*EI*, II, pp. 88-9) proposes to identify him with his namesake, mentioned in the Sanchi and Nanaghat inscriptions, as well as with Śātakarṇi I of the *Purāṇas*. Rapson (*Catalogue of Indian Coins*, pp. XVII, XXIV) agrees to the view of his identification with Śātakarṇi of the Hathigumpha and Nanaghat records and the *Purāṇas* and points out that Śātakarṇi of the Sanchi inscription was 'one of the several Śātakarṇis who appear later in the Purāṇic list, R. P. Chanda (*IA*, 1919, p. 217) suggests the identification of Śātakarṇi of the Hathigumpha inscription with Śātakarṇi II of the Purāṇic genealogy. H. C. Raychaudhuri (*PHAI*, p. 415) is inclined to identify the contemporary Śātavāhana monarch with Śātakarṇi I of the *Purānas* and Śātakarṇi, the successor of Kṛṣṇa.
28. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 477.
29. *PHAI*, p. 420.
30. *AEHO*, p. 277.
31. *EHNI*, p. 37.
32. *UUHO*, I, pp. 315-6.
33. *JBORS*, IV, p. 504.
34. *Acta Orientalia*, I, p. 29.
35. *IHQ*, V, p. 597.
36. *AIU*, p. 214.
37. *CCAI*, pp. XCVII-VIII.
38. *AEHO*, p. 270.
39. *EHNI*, p. 30.
40. *CCAI*, p. XCVIII.

41. *AIU*, p. 215.
42. Ibid., pp. 215-6.
43. *EHNI*, pp. 56-9.
44. Some Indologists have taken the expression *ti-vasa-sata* as meaning the year 103 of an era. Sten Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, I, pp. 24 ff.) identifies this era with the Mahāvīra era, whereas, R. C. Majumdar (*JBORS*, IX, pp. 417-8) takes it to be a Hindu era, commencing from B.C. 458, enumerated by Alberuni. According to this view the aqueduct, in question, was originally excavated 103 years after B.C. 458 and subsequently it was enlarged by Khāravela in his fifth regnal year. Such an assumption, it must be admitted, is contradicted by the internal evidence of the Hathigumpha inscription.
45. *UUHO*, I, p. 326.
46. Ibid, p. 322.
47. S. K. Chatterji (*Vyāsasaṁgrahamu*, 1933, pp. 71-74) points out that *Khāravela* is derived from Dravidian *kār* or *kar*, meaning 'black' or 'terrible' and *vel*, 'lance', the name meaning 'one having a black or terrible lance'. *Khāravela* may also be Sanskrit *Kṣāravela*, 'the ocean, having salt on the shore' (*SI*, p. 214).
48. This river has usually been identified with the modern Kṛṣṇā. B. M. Barua (*IHQ*, XIV, p. 475) has identified it differently with the modern Wainganga, which has for its main tributary the Kanhan, the two streams uniting in Bhandara district.
49. This is the reading of D. C. Sircar (*SI*, p. 215), but K. P. Jayaswal (*EI*, XX, p. 79) and R. D. Banerji read the name of the city as Musikanagara. Jayaswal (*EI*, XX, p. 84) has located the city on the river Musi in its upper reaches near Golkonda in Andhra. R. D. Banerji (*HO*, I, p. 77) thinks that the city lay further to the south, being identical with the ancient port of Muziris on the Malabar coast. He is further of opinion that 'Khāravela reached the Maharastra country and touched the river

Kṛṣṇā near its source where it flows directly north to south instead of touching it at any other place, because, to reach the Kṛṣṇā at any other place, he would have had to travel almost due south instead of west.'

50. According to another interpretation of the text (*PHAI*, p. 418) Khāravela went to the west to the rescue of Śātakarṇi and returned to the capital, in the company of his allies after having accomplished his mission. But such an interpretation cannot be said to be in keeping with the phrase *acitayitā Sātakaṁniṁ* of the text.

51. The Raṭhikas and Bhojakas, who are also mentioned in Rock Edicts V and XIII of Aśoka, probably belonged to Maharastra and Berar respectively.

52. *AIU*, p. 214.

53. *UUHO*, I, p. 349.

54. The reading and interpretation of the passage are far from certain. Jayaswal reads it as *maṁḍaṁ Avarāja-nivesitaṁ*, suggesting that Pīthuṁḍa was founded by an Ava ruler, identified with a king of the Avarni or Aruarni, a people mentioned by Ptolemy as living near the Kṛṣṇā ṛiver (*JBORS*, XIV, pp. 15 ff.). B. M. Barua (*SI*, p. 217) reads the passage as *puvarāja nivesitaṁ Pithuḍaga-dabha nagale nekāsayayi*, meaning that Khāravela 'caused the grassy over-growth of Pṛithūdaka (city), founded by a former king, to be let out in the Lāṅgala (river).' D. C. Sircar (Ibid, p. 220) interprets *rājanivesitaṁ* as meaning the capital (*kasyacid rājñaḥ rājadhānī*) of a certain king.

55. N. K. Sahu (*UUHO*, I, p. 350) points out that the confederacy of Tamil States of the South 'consisted of the States of the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Satyaputras, Keralaputras, as well as the Island of Ceylon (Tāmraparṇī), and as known from the inscription, it was in existence for 1300 years prior to the time of Khāravela'. Such an assumption is not warranted by any cogent evidence.

56. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 479.

57. Jackson has proved, on the strength of two Brāhmī inscriptions, that Gorathagiri is one of the two ancient names of the Barabar hills, the other name being Khalatika-pavata.
58. *AIU*, p. 214.
59. *Luders' List*, No. 601.
60. *JDL*, XIV, p. 5.
61. *AIU*, p. 214.
62. *SI*, p. 217.
63. Act. III.
64. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 479.
65. *EHNI*, p. 38.
66. Ibid, p. 38.
67. *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 5.
68. *EI*, XX, p. 85.
69. *IHQ*, XIV, pp. 479-80.
70. While evaluating the greatness of Khāravela as a conqueror, N. K. Sahu (*UUHO*, I, pp. 361-2) observes, 'Thus, within the short span of his rule, Khāravela greatly raised the military prestige of Kaliṅga and achieved what probably no emperor of India in the past could accomplish. The defeat of the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas led to the extension of Kaliṅga's suzerainty right up to the coast of the Arabian sea, while the submission of Bṛhaspatimitra and the Pāṇḍya king made her arms felt from the feet of the Himalayas to the farthest extent in the South'. This observation, without underrating the achievements of Khāravela, may be said to be highly exaggerative.
71. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 477.
72. *SI*, p. 221.
73. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 485.
74. There were altogether 24 Jinas : Ādinātha, Ajitanātha, Sambhavanātha, Abhinandananātha, Sumatinātha, Padmaprabha, Supārśvanātha, Candraprabha, Suvidhinātha, Śitalanātha, Śreyāṁsanātha, Vāsupūjya,

Vimalanātha, Anantanātha, Dharmanātha, Śāntinātha, Kunthunātha, Aranātha, Mallinātha, Munisuvrata, Naminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. The evidence of the Hathigumpha record seems to prove that the practice of image-worship was current among the Jainas in Orissa in the first century B.C.

75. N. K. Sahu (*UUHO*, I, p. 228) identifies the Jina of the Hathigumpha inscription with Ṛṣabhanātha.
76. *EI*, XX, p. 87.
77. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 477.
78. *OHRJ*, XI, p. 57.
79. Khāravela ascended the throne (*mahārāj=ābhisecanaṁ pāpunāti*) at the age of twentyfive (*saṁpuṇa-catu-vīsati-vaso*). In a manuscript of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* Khāravela is credited with the establishment of a temple in Bhubaneswar, the excavation of the famous Bindu-sarovara and the conquest of Nepal and other places in different parts of India (*JBORS*, 1911, p. 482). The text is, no doubt, a modern forgery.
80. *AIU*, p. 212.
81. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 160.
82. *EHD*, Pts, I-VI, p. 118.
83. Vaḍukha might not have ascended the throne at all, because in no record hitherto unearthed, he is depicted as a king.
84. *JBORS*, 1917, p. 482.
85. *OBI*, p. 187.
86. *EI*, XXXII, pp. 82-87.
87. D. C. Sircar (ibid, p. 86) holds that 'Aira rule was established in the Krishna-Guntur region as a result of one of Khāravela's expeditions in those areas'.
88. Cunningham, Banerji, Prinsep and R. L. Mitra agree in reading the name of the donor as Sabhūti (i.e., Subhūti). Luders and Barua read it as Bhūti.
89. Some scholars (*UUHO*, I, pp. 340-5) take most of the names, appearing in the cave inscriptions of Udayagiri

and Khandagiri, as official designations. Mahāmada is considered the same as *Sabbatthaka Mahāmatta* of the Pāli literature and *Mahāmātra* of Aśokan epigraphs. Kaṁma is likewise identified with the 'Minister of Works, being responsible for 'construction and repair of forts and buildings, laying out of gardens, digging out of tanks and canals, and excavation of rock-cut caves, etc.' Cula-kaṁma has been taken to be a junior cadre minister, attached to the Ministry of Works.

90. *EHD*, I-VI, p. 118. Rao holds that Śātakarṇi II conquered Orissa.

91. *CHI*, II, p. 313. B. V. Krishnarao (*A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, p. 384) likewise believes in the theory of the Śātavāhana conquest of Orissa.

92. *EI*, XXXII, p. 83.

93. N. K. Sahu (*UUHO*, I, pp. 415 ff.) points out that Kaliṅga formed a part of the Śātavāhana empire and locates the mountains like Kṛṣṇagiri, Malaya, Mahendra, Śvetagiri and Cakora, which are stated in the Nāsik inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī to have been included in the empire of Gautamīpura Śātakarṇi, in the territory of Kaliṅga. Thus Malaya is identified with Malayagiri near Pallahara in Dhenkanal district, Śvetagiri with Srikurmam in Srikakulam district and Cakora with Chakrakut or Chitrakut in Bastar district. The above identifications are far from being conclusive.

94. *EI*, XXXII, p. 83.

95. M. Rama Rao (*Dr. S. K. Belvelkar F. Volume*, pp. 280 ff.) propounds the theory that the empire of Gautamīputra included the Eastern Deccan.

96. *JNSI*, II, pp. 125-26.

97. *Ancient India*, CXXI-II, pp. 205-09.

98. *JNSI*, XIII, p. 69.

99. *IHQ*, XIII, p. 303.

100. *JNSI*, XV, p. 187.

101. *EHNI*, pp. 40-41.

102. *JBORS*, XVI, pt. I, p. 40 ; ibid, XIV, p. 420.
103. *OHRJ*, III, pp. 100 ff.
104. *SHAIB*, p. 196.
105. *IA* (1903), p. 385.
106. *EHNI*, p. 101.
107. *AI*, V, pp. 97 ff ; *JNSI*, XII, pp. 1-4.
108. Vol. II, p. 726.
109. *EI*, XXIX, pp. 169ff ; *IHQ*, XXXV, pp. 240ff.
110. *IHQ*, XXXV, pp. 240ff.
111. *EI*, XXIX, p. 173.
112. N. K. Sahu (*UUHO*, I, p. 428) opines that *Mahārāja* Gaṇa was a vassal chief under the Muruṇḍa king Dharmadāmadhara.
113. *IHQ*, I, p. 684.
114. *EHNI*, p. 185.
115. *IHQ*, I, p. 251.
116. Ibid, I, p. 683.
117. *EHNI*, p. 183.
118. *CA*, p. 92.
119. K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India (150 A.D.-350 A.D.)*, pp. 135-9.
120. *PHAI*, p. 538.
121. *EHNI*, p. 188.
122. *EI*, IX, pp. 344 ff.
123. Ibid, pp. 287 ff.
124. Ibid, XXIII, pp. 201 ff.
125. S. N. Rajaguru (*HG*, p. 193) draws our attention to the discovery of 'some Jaina sculptures of Gupta style of the 4th century A.D.' from Phulbani.
126. *JNSI*, X, pp. 137 ff ; ibid, XVI, p. 216.
127. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 79ff.
128. N. K. Sahu (*UUHO*, I, pp. 439 ff.) propounds the view that the Sumandala inscription does not conclusively prove the inclusion of Orissa in the Gupta empire. The relevant portion of the record reads as follows :—

    Varttamāna Guptarājye varṣa-śatadvaye pañcāśad=uttare Kaliṅgarāṣṭram=anuśāsati śrī-Pṛthivīvigraha-bhaṭṭārake.

This has been generally taken by scholars to mean that 'Śrī-Pṛthivīvigrahabhaṭṭāraka is ruling the Kaliṅgarāṣṭra, while the year two hundred followed by fifty is in existence in the Gupta kingdom'. N. K. Sahu opines that the word '*varttamāna*' should not be taken in the sense of 'existing' but 'it actually conveys the sense of *pravarttamāna*, meaning promulgated'. Sahu again remarks, 'It may be pointed out that in the Kaṇāsa Copper-plate Inscription of Lokavigraha, belonging to the same Vigraha family, the word *pravarttamāna* is found in place of *varttamāna*' (*UU*HO, I, p. 440). It is difficult to agree with N. K. Sahu for various reasons. First, a careful palæographical examination reveals that the crucial word of the Sumandala inscription definitely reads as *varttamāna* and not *pravarttamāna*. Even if the reading of *pravarttamāna* be accepted as tenable, the meaning of the whole passage would at once become ambiguous unless a new expression like *Guptakāle* is supplied in place of the original word *Guptarājye*, the reading of which is beyond any dispute. Further, Sahu's reading of the second word of the date-portion of the Kanas plate is extremely hypothetical, because what has to be clearly read as *Gupta*(*kā*)*la*, is read by him as *Guptarā*(*ja*).

129. J*A*H*RS*, XXI, pp. 159 ff.
130. J*I*H, XXXIV, p. 283.
131. J*I*H, XXXIV, p. 290.
132. OH*R*J, XI, pp. 206-33 ; *SI*, pp. 530-31.
133. H*B*, p. 54.

Appendix

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

Khāravela

1. Hathigumpha Cave Inscription
Prinsep, *JASB*, VI, pp. 1075-91 ; Cunningham, *CII*, I, pp. 27ff ; ibid, pp. 98-101 ; ibid, pp. 132ff ; R. L. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, pp. 16ff ; Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Actes du Sixieme Congres international des Orientalistes*, Pt. III, Sec. II, pp. 152-77 ; Buhler, *Indian Studies*, III, p. 13 ; Fleet, *JRAS*, 1910, 242ff ; ibid, p. 824 ; *Luders' List*, No. 1345 ; K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, III, pp. 425ff ; ibid, IV, pp. 364ff ; ibid, XIII, pp. 221ff ; ibid, XIV, pp. 150ff ; Sten Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, I, pp. 12ff ; F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1922, pp. 83ff ; K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji, *EI*, XX, pp. 72ff ; B. M. Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. I ; *IHQ*, XIV, pp. 261ff ; D. C. Sircar, *SI*, pp. 213-21 ; N. K. Sahu, *UUHO*, I, pp. 397-409.

The Chief Queen of Khāravela

2. Manchapuri Cave Inscription
Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Actes du Sixieme Congres Or. a Leide*, Pt. III, Sec. ii, pp. 152ff ; R. D. Banerji, *EI*, XIII, p. 159 ; B. M. Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 55ff ; *IHQ*, XIV, p. 159 ; *Luders' List*, No. 1346 ; D. C. Sircar, *SI*, pp. 221-22.

Vakradeva

3. Manchapuri Cave Inscription
Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Actes du Sixieme Congres Or. a Leide*, III, iii, pp. 152ff ; R. D. Banerji, *EI*, XIII, p. 160 ;

Barua, *OBI*, pp. 63ff ; *IHQ*, XIV, p. 160 ; *Luders' List*, No. 1347 ; Sircar, *SI*, p. 222.

Vaḍukha

4. Manchapuri Cave Inscription
Luders' List, No. 1348 ; Barua, O*BI*, pp. 69-70.

Miscellaneous Inscriptions

5. Vyaghragumpha Cave Inscription
R. L. Mitra, *A*O, II, p. 31 ; *Luders' List*, No. 1351 ; R. D. Banerji, *EI*, XIII, pl. II, No. 7 ; B. M. Barua, O*BI*, pp. 99-100.
6. Sarpagumpha Cave Inscription
B. M. Barua, O*BI*, pp. 81-82 ; R. L. Mitra, *A*O, II, p. 30 ; Prinsep, J*ASB*, VI, pl. LVII, Cave No. I ; *Luders' List*, No. 1349.
7. Pavanagumpha Cave Inscription
Prinsep, J*ASB*, VI, pl. LVII, Cave No. 5 ; R. L. Mitra, *A*O, II, p. 30 ; *Luders' List*, No. 1353 ; B. M. Barua, O*BI*, pp. 86-88.
8. Jambesvara Cave Inscription
Prinsep, J*ASB*, VI, pl. LVII, Cave No. 4 ; *Luders' List*, No. 1352 ; R. D. Banerji, *EI*, XIII, pl. II, No. 8 ; B. M. Barua, O*BI*, pp. 105-06.

9-10. Two Tattvagumpha Cave Inscriptions
Prinsep, J*ASB*, VI, p. 1074 ; *Luders' List*, No. 1344 ; R. D. Banerji, *EI*, XIII, pl. II, No. 10 ; B. M. Barua, O*BI*, pp. 123-24 ; 129-30.

11. Anantagumpha Cave Inscription
Luders' List, No. 1343 ; B. M. Barua, O*BI*, pp. 117-18.

Mahārāja Gaṇa

12. Bhadrak Stone Inscription
D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXIX, pp. 169ff ; K. C. Panigrahi, *IHQ*, XXXV, pp. 240ff.

Dharmarāja

13. Sumandala Copper-plate Inscription
S. N. Rajaguru, *Manoramā*, I, i, pp. 17-24 ; J*RAS*, XIX, pp. 117-30 ; *OHR*J, I, pp. 66-69 ; D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 79 ff ; *SI*, pp. 490-92.

Śatrudamana

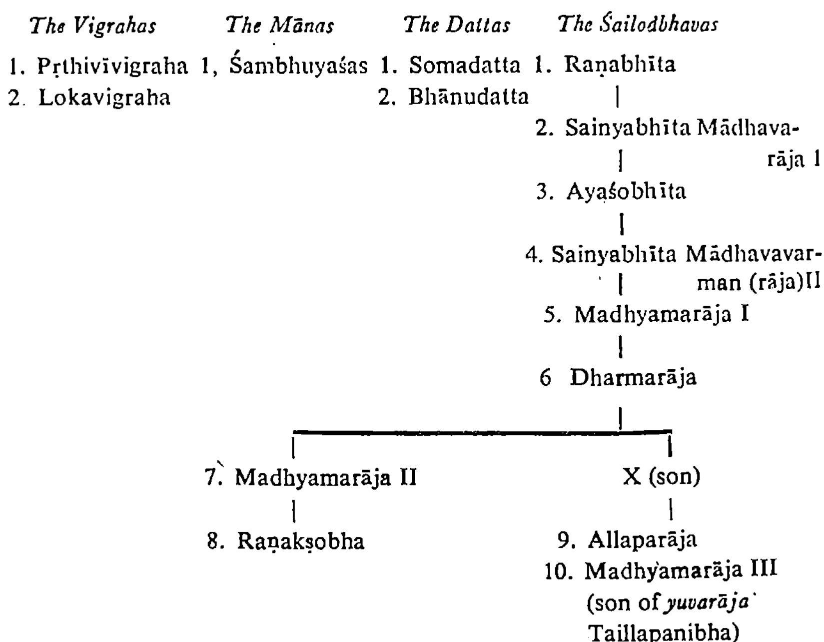
14. Pedda-Dugam Copper-plate Inscription
V. Bhanumurty, *Bhāratī* (Telugu monthly), March 1955, pp. 86ff ; J*A*H*RS*, XXI, pp. 159ff ; D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXXI, pp. 89-93.

Chapter III

SOME DYNASTIES OF NORTH KALIṄGA

The Emergence of the Vigrahas, Śailodbhavas, Mānas and Dattas

While the Guptas had been maintaining a nominal suzerainty over Northern Kaliṅga a few dynasties like the Vigrahas and the Śailodbhavas started their rule as subordinates under their overlordship. Ere long the Mānas and the Dattas appeared and, when on the decline of the Gupta power, the history of Orissa unfolds before us, we find at least four dynasties, struggling with one another for supremacy. A study of this history may begin with the following chart.



The following facts are worth noting in this connection :

(i) Lokavigraha, the only known date of whose reign is A.D. 599, ruled contemporaneously with the Māna

king Śambhuyaśas, whose known dates are A.D. 579 and 602[1] ;

(ii) Somadatta was either a younger contemporary of Śambhuyaśas or came to power in Tosalī shortly after him ; and,

(iii) both Somadatta and his successor Bhānudatta were contemporaries of the Śailodbhava Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman (-rāja) II.

The Māna Chronology

The arrangement of the kings of some of the above dynasties in their genealogical and chronological order is difficult but not impossible. The case of the Mānas may be considered first. The Mānas are credited with the issue of two records which are dated in the years 260 and 283 of an unspecified reckoning. N. G. Majumdar[2] is inclined to refer these dates to the Kalacuri era of A.D. 248 on the ground that palæographically the records, containing these dates, are not referable to a date later than the middle of the sixth century A.D. S. N. Rajaguru[3] thinks of a Māna era, which, according to him, commenced from A.D. 240. R. D. Banerji[4], while editing the Patiakella plate[5], refers the date to the Gupta era. D. C. Sircar[6], likewise, agrees with R. D. Banerji in assigning these years to the Gupta era and shows the untenability of other suggestions in the following words : 'To suggest the existence of a new era on the basis of a single inscription when it is possible to refer the date of that record to a known era prevalent about the same age in the neighbouring areas is absolutely unwarranted and uncalled for. Since numerous inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries, discovered in the northern and eastern parts of Bengal, were found to bear dates in the Gupta era and at least one document coming from Ganjam in Orissa is known to be dated in the year 300 of the *Guptābda*, Banerji's suggestion regarding the use of the same era in the Patiakella inscription coming from the

Cuttack district was the most natural and probable. The supporters of the theory referring the date of the Patiakella plate to the Traikūṭaka-Kalachuri-Chedi era again had little idea about the spread of the Indian eras. The said era is known to have originated in the Konkan-Maharashtra region in Western India and to have been carried by the Kalachuris of those parts ultimately to the Jabbalpur area of Central India at a later date. There is absolutely no evidence to prove that the era migrated to any other part of India in any period of history.' The arguments are cogent and hence we are inclined to accept them here.

The Genealogy and Chronology of the Śailodbhavas

But far more difficult is the question of the genealogy and chronology of the Śailodbhava kings. The Ganjam plates[7] of Mādhavarāja of the Gupta year 300 (*Gauptābde varṣa-śata-traye*), i.e., A.D. 619 which form the earliest epigraphic record of the Śailodbhava kings of Orissa yet discovered, mention three rulers of the family, viz., Mādhavarāja(I), his son Ayaśobhīta[8] and the latter's son Mādhavarāja(II). The legend, as contained at the bottom of the seal, attached to the plates, reveals that king Mādhavarāja(II) bore the surname Sainyabhīta. A similar account relating to the dynastic genealogy is noticeable in the undated Khurda plates[9] of the same Mādhavarāja(II). The solitary point of disagreement, as betrayed by the latter record, lies in the fact that it refers to the grandfather of Mādhavarāja(II) by the surname Sainyabhīta. The seal of the plates likewise bears the legend *śrī-Sainyabhītasya*. We may, therefore, derive from the combined study of the Ganjam and Khurda plates the following genealogical table of the Śailodbhava kings :

1. Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja I
   |
2. Ayaśobhīta
   |
3. Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja II

A more detailed account of the dynastic genealogy is to be met with in the Buguda[10], Purushottamapur[11], Puri[12] and Cuttack (Orissa) Museum[13] plates of king Mādhavavarman. These four inscriptions are unanimous in recounting the following genealogy of the family :

1. Śailodbhava
(in his family)
|
2. Raṇabhīta
|
3. Sainyabhīta
(in his family)
|
4. Ayaśobhīta
|
5. Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman
(also khown by the *biruda* Śrīnivāsa)

The question now crops up, how are we to find out the actual relationship as existing between the two groups of kings ? It is interesting to note that the names of kings Nos. 3, 4 and 5 of List No. II are identical with those of List No. I. The only discrepancy is that while in List No. I we have Mādhavarāja, in List No. II we find Mādhavavarman[14] instead. R. C. Majumdar[15] has raised two-fold objections against the identification of these two sets of rulers :

First, the Ganjam and Khurda plates regard Ayaśobhīta as the son and immediate successor of Sainyabhīta, whereas, in the Buguda[16] and other plates Ayaśobhīta is described as only a descendant of Sainyabhīta. It is very doubtful whether a son of a king would be referred to in an official record as born in his family.

Secondly, the characters of the Buguda and other plates are definitely later than those of the Ganjam and Khurda plates. In order to justify his contention Majumdar refers to the views of Kielhorn and Basak who have assigned the Buguda and Puri plates of Mādhavavarman to the ninth or tenth century.

Consequently, Majumdar was led to believe that the kings of List No. I are not identical with their namesakes of List No. II, but are separated from each other in point of chronology by a margin of more than two centuries. R. G. Basak, however, suggested that the Buguda and Puri plates were issued by the grandson of the issuer of the Ganjam and Khurda plates, thus implying that the characters of the so-called two groups of the Śailodbhava copper plate grants could not have been separated by a long interval of time.

It is true that the characters of the Buguda and Puri plates are somewhat different in form from those in the Ganjam and Khurda grants. Letters like *ṇa, ma* and *la* as occurring in the Buguda plates have a decidedly later look. But in spite of such marked palæographical differences some Indologists seem lukewarm to regard it as assignable to such a late period as ardently advocated by Kielhorn and Majumdar. N. G. Majumdar[17] sought to explain the enigma presented by the Buguda plates on the assumption that the present Buguda plates are not the original record, but were copied at a subsequent period in the then current script from the original one which was incised during the reign of Mādhavavarman. R. D. Banerji attributed the incongruity in the palæography of the records of Mādhavavarman to the simultaneous existence of two types of alphabet in Orissa in the 7th-8th centuries A.D. By the time when these surmises were hazarded, the implication of the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates of Mādhavavarman was not fully revealed, while the Banpur plates[18] of Dharmarāja were yet to be brought to light. But the discovery of these two copper plate grants has set at rest the genealogical scheme of the Śailodbhava rulers, as adopted by Majumdar and belied the surmises uttered from time to time on the subject. The introductory portion of the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates is a replica of that of the second group of inscriptions (Buguda plates, etc.) but the alphabet employed in them resembles those in the Ganjam and Khurda plates. There is, therefore, no serious obstacle in taking these inscrip-

tions to be contemporaneous and recognising Mādhavarāja of the Ganjam and Khurda plates and Mādhavavarman of the Buguda, Purushottamapur, Puri and Orissa Museum plates as one and the same person. It is thus evident that by the time of Mādhavavarman (also called Mādhavarāja) there was the simultaneous existence of the normal East Indian alphabet and a modified form of the Northern alphabet in parts of Orissa. 'It is now impossible, as D. C. Sircar[19] observes, 'to speak of the characters of one group of Śailodbhava plates as earlier than that of another group.' This is further confirmed by the Banpur plates of Dharmarāja, the grandson of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman. As Sircar[20] writes : 'Although the other charters of Dharmarāja are written in characters which are the same as those found in the Buguda and Puri plates of the second group of charters, issued by Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa, the Banpur plates and Nivina grant exhibit an alphabet which is the same as that employed in the Ganjam, Khurda and Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates'.

The only difficulty which still stands in the way of our accepting the identification of Mādhavarāja and Mādhavavarman as an established fact is the disagreement in the statement regarding his father Ayaśobhīta's relationship with Sainyabhīta. If Mādhavarāja's father Ayaśobhīta is to be regarded as identical with his namesake in the Buguda, Purushottamapur plates, etc., how is it that he is represented in the second set of records as a descendant and not as a son of Sainyabhīta ? The solution of this problem is also not far to seek. From the vast mass of Indian literature and epigraphy several instances may be cited where a son is represented as a descendant of his father. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[21] speaks of the son as the descendant of his father while in the *Naiṣadhīya*[22], Nala, the son of Vīrasena has been described as *Vīrasena-kula-dīpa* and a similar example may be noticed in the Malavalli inscription[23] of the Kadamba king Mayuraśarman. Rāyārideva Trailokyasiṁha, the king of Kāmarūpa, in the early medieval period is described in the Assam plates of

Vallabhadeva[24] as a descendant of his father Bhāskara (*Bhāskaravaṁśa-rājatilaka*).

In the light of the above discussion we can draw the genealogical table of the Śailodbhava kings from Raṇabhīta, the first historical member of the family down to Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman, the issuer of the Ganjam, Buguda and other plates, as follows :

Śailodbhava (mythical founder of the family)

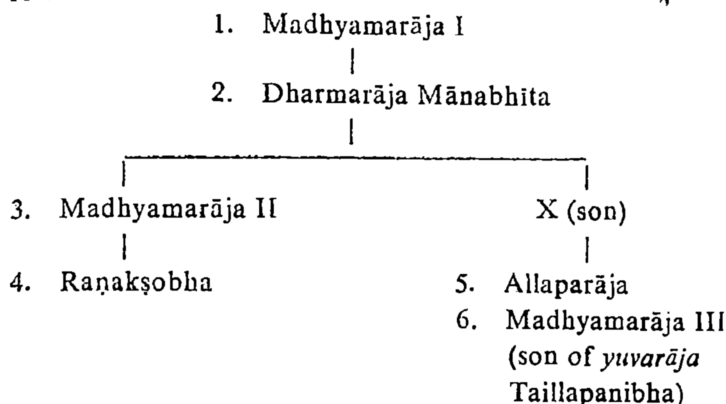
1. Raṇabhīta
|
2. Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja I
|
3. Ayaśobhīta
|
4. Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman (-rāja) II

The Banpur and Parikud[25] plates of Madhyamarāja reveal the same genealogy, as found in the Buguda, Purushottamapur plates, etc., excepting that they add a new name to the list. The new king who finds mention in these two plates is Ayaśobhīta Madhyamarāja who is said to have been the son and immediate successor of king No. 4.[26] All these kings up to Madhyamarāja are mentioned in their respective genealogical order in the Nivina[27], Chandeswar[28], Ranpur[29], Banpur[30], Puri[31] and Kondedda[32] plates of Dharmarāja, which, however, add the name of their issuer-king Dharmarāja as the son and successor of Madhyamarāja. The position of these two new rulers in the genealogical table of their family would be as follows :

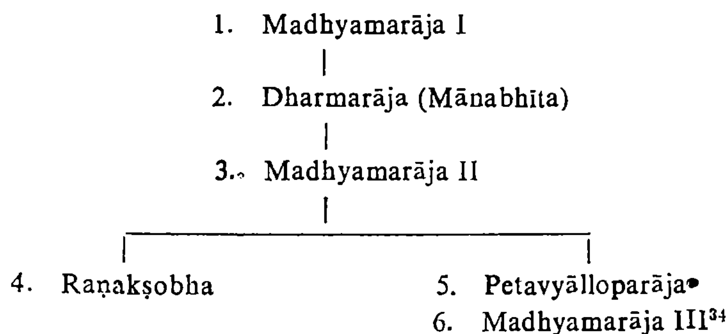
5. Madhyamarāja, the son of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II
|
6. Dharmarāja

The Tekkali plates[33] of Madhyamarāja (III) furnish us with the names of a few more kings who are said to have been ruling in succession from the time of Madhyamarāja (I). The

kings mentioned therein may be shown in the following tabular form :



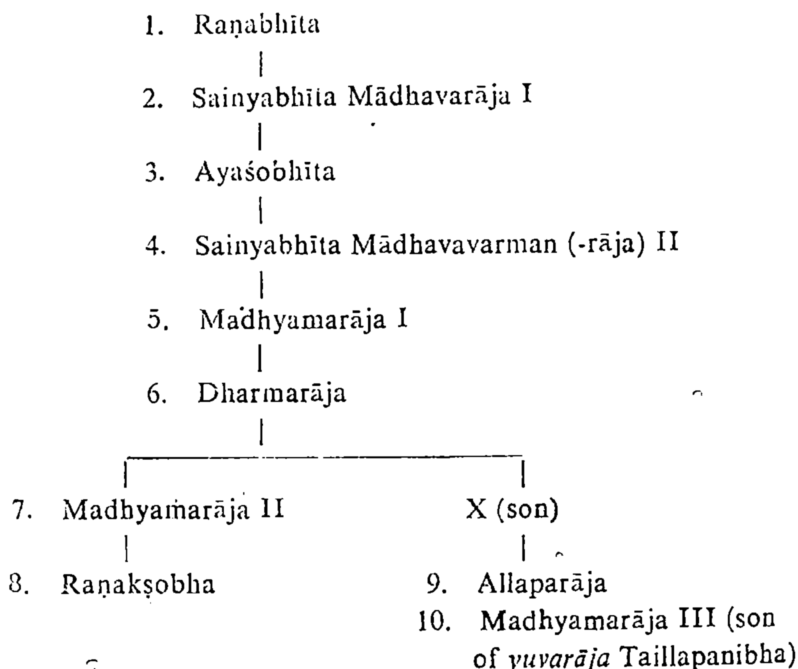
This chart is, of course, somewhat different from that reconstructed by H. P. Sastri as follows :



A careful of line 19 of the Tekkali plates shows the reading *paitṛvyo=llaparāja* instead of *Petavyā=llaparāja* as suggested by Sastri. Thus the name may be read as Allaparāja who was the uncle's son of Raṇakṣobha and not a son of Madhyamarāja II.

Madhyamarāja I, with whom the genealogy of the Śailodbhava rulers begins in the Tekkali plates, is in all probability the same as his namesake who is known to have issued the Banpur and Parikud plates. 'For the opening lines of the Tekkali plates, 'as Majumdar[35] points out, 'are identical with

the last three lines of verse 13 of the Parikud plates, which contain the eulogy of Madhyamarāja.' If the above supposition be accepted, the following will be the genealogical arrangement of the Śailodbhava kings according to our theory :



The Gupta year 300, i.e., A.D. 619, which is the date of the Ganjam plates of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman (-rāja) II is the sheet-anchor of the chronology of the Śailodbhava rulers of Orissa. Besides the Ganjam plates, the other records of this Śailodbhava king are the Khurda, Buguda, Purushottamapur, Puri and Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates. Since the last four records contain no reference to any overlord, scholars are almost unanimous in their contention that they are chronologically later than the Ganjam plates which were issued while Mādhavavarman (-rāja) II was still a feudatory under Śaśāṅka of Bengal. Of these records, the Khurda and Buguda plates are undated. The date of the Puri plates has been read

as *Saṁvat* 20+3 (=23) which is regarded as the regnal year. But if the statement of R. G. Basak[36] that the first numeral symbol represents 10 be accepted, the said plates are then to be supposed to have been issued in the regnal year 13. The Cuttack Museum plates contain a date which is generally read as 50. N. G. Majumdar[37] is inclined to refer this date to the Harṣa era of A.D. 606 which would make the date equivalent to A.D. 656. But on the analogy of the Puri plates which are dated in his regnal year, the use of the Harṣa era in this record is quite unlikely, and it is highly probable that the year 50, as used in this record, may be regarded as the regnal year. Thus the rule of Mādhavavarman (-rāja) II lasted at least for 50 years and his reign may be tentatively assigned to the period A.D. 610-A.D. 662[38].

Madhyamarāja I, the son and successor of Mādhavavarman (-rāja) II is known to have issued the Parikud plates which are dated in his 26th regnal year. There also occurs in line 59 of the record a date about the interpretation of which there is some uncertainty. R. D. Banerji[39] reads the date as *Saṁvat* 88 and refers it to the Harṣa era. D. C. Sircar[40] remarks that 'the unsatisfactory state of preservation of the latter part of the document has been responsible for wrong readings of the date in figures in the last line of the inscription'. The learned scholar is of opinion that the regnal year of the king, as mentioned in line 45, is simply repeated in numerical symbols in its last line. Veṇkayya[41] also endorses this view. If we are to rely on this suggestion it may be contended that Madhyamarāja ruled at least up to his 28th regnal year and his reign may be tentatively placed in the period A.D. 662-A.D. 690[42].

Dharmarāja who succeeded Madhyamarāja I is known to have issued the Nivina, Chandeswar, Ranpur, Banpur, Puri and Kondedda plates. S. N. Rajaguru[43], while editing the Puri plates, read the date as *Saṁvat* 512 of the Śaka era. But this theory which would assign Dharmarāja to A.D. 590 seems to be untenable for the reason that Dharmarāja's grandfather, viz., Mādhavavarman (-rāja) II is definitely known to have

been ruling in A.D. 619, and that before Dharmarāja himself, his father Madhyamarāja I also ruled for a period of at least 26 years. In fact, the use of the Śaka era was unknown in Orissa before the advent of the Imperial Gaṅgas on the scene in the tenth century A.D. What appears to be more likely is that the record contains a year of the king's regnal reckoning. The Nivina grant of this king was issued in his ninth regnal year, whereas, the date of the Kondedda grant is probably the regnal year 30.[44] The date of the last record is often read as the Gupta year 312. The view cannot be maintained because the symbol is a clear sign for 30, and further, it is hardly possible to place his reign only twelve years after the date of the Ganjam plates of the Gupta year 300 of his illustrious grandfather. Thus in all probability Dharmarāja reigned at least up to his 30th regnal year and his reign may be assigned to the period A.D. 690-A.D. 725.[45]

The Identification of Tīvaradeva

The mention of Tīvara as an adversary of Dharmarāja in some Śailodbhava inscriptions, has caused some confusion. S. N. Rajaguru[46] has identified this Tīvara with Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva, the famous Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king of Dakṣiṇa Kosala and as he assigns Dharmarāja to the period A.D. 620—A.D. 650, he suggests the same epoch for the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king. It is here worth noticing that the date of Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva is a subject of controversy among scholars ; Hiralal[47] assigns him to the seventh century A.D., D. R. Bhandarkar[48], R. D. Banerji[49], Kielhorn[50] and Fleet[51], to the eighth century A.D. S. C. Behera[52] has also tentatively placed Tīvara in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. Such a late date for Tīvaradeva, as suggested above, appears to be highly improbable. The evidences[53], cited below, would establish, in no uncertain manner, that Tīvaradeva flourished at a much earlier period (i.e., the sixth century A.D.) :

1. All the charters of Tīvaradeva, viz., the Rajim and

Baloda plates are incised in box-headed characters, resembling those of the Vākāṭaka and Śarabhapura rulers. The Vākāṭakas were ruling contemporaneously with the Imperial Gupta kings and hence their records must be referred to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. The plates of Tīvaradeva which are incised in similar characters may not be placed at a much later date than the time of the Vākāṭaka records.

2. The Sirpur stone inscription of the reign of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna states that Bālārjuna's mother Vāsaṭā was the daughter of Sūryavarman, born in the Varman family of Magadha. This Sūryavarman appears to be the same as the Maukhari prince Sūryavarman, the son of Īśānavarman. 'Candragupta, the grandfather of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, was thus a contemporary of Sūryavarman and flourished probably from A.D. 565 to 575 and his elder brother Tīvaradeva from A.D. 550 to 565.'

3. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin king *Mahārāja* Mādhavavarman I is described in his plates to have inflicted a defeat upon Tīvaradeva.[54] It is thus evident that Mādhavavarman I and Tīvaradeva were contemporaries. According to V. V. Mirashi[55], Mādhavavarman I reigned from A.D. 525 to 568, and according to D. C. Sircar[56], from A.D. 535 to 585. In any case, this also places Tīvaradeva towards the middle of the sixth century A.D.

It is thus clear that Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva, who flourished in the sixth century A.D., cannot be regarded as one and the same as Tīvara, mentioned in the Śailodbhava records as a contemporary of king Dharmarāja, who, according to the chronological scheme, adopted here, ruled from A.D. 690 to A.D. 725, for there is an interval of more than a century, separating one from the other. Tīvara of the Śailodbhava records might have been a remote descendant of the famous Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva and this is not at all unlikely as 'we know of several instances of such repetition of names in the dynasty of Somavaṁśī kings of Kosala and Orissa to which Tīvaradeva belonged.'

As it has already been shown, the rule of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman (-rāja) II commenced in c. A.D. 610. This king was fourth in descent from his ancestor Raṇabhīta. Now, if we allot twenty years of reign to each of the kings, who preceded him, we arrive at c. A.D. 550 as the date of the foundation of the Śailodbhava power in Southern Orissa. But from this date onwards at least up to the date of the Ganjam plates the Śailodbhavas had been ruling as feudatories, paying their allegiance to a paramount power. We have also seen that Dharmarāja, the last great king of the dynasty, ruled at least up to c. A.D. 725. Although a few kings ruled after him, as is attested to by the Tekkali plates of Madhyamarāja III, the political status of these later rulers is not exactly known and there are reasons to believe that the power collapsed before the onslaughts of king [illegible] ja in the latter half of the eighth century.

King Pṛthivīvigraha

Of the above four dynasties, the Vigrahas and the Śailodbhavas were the earliest to appear on the political stage and they were at first feudatories under the Imperial Guptas. Pṛthivīvigraha, the earliest member of the Vigraha family, is described in the Sumandala copper-plate grant as governing the Kaliṅga-rāṣṭra (*Kaliṅga-rāṣṭram=anuśāsati śrī-Pṛthivīvigraha-bhaṭṭāraka*) as a viceroy under the Guptas in the year 250 (*varttamāna-Gupta-rājye varṣa-śatadvaye pañcāśad=uttare*), which corresponds to A.D. 569. In spite of his subordinate position he was a powerful ruler and was in charge of a very large area which possibly extended from the borders of Midnapur district up to those of Ganjam, and further he had under him a few vassal chiefs, including *Mahārāja* Dharmarāja, who ruled around modern Khallikot. The epigraph supplies us with the following information about Dharmarāja :

i) he was a descendant of *Mahārāja* Ubhaya[57] (*mahārāj=Obhay=ānvayo*) ;

ii) he was born of the queen Bappadevī (*Bappadevyām=utpanna-tanuḥ*) ; and

iii) he was a devotee of the god Sahasra-raśmin (*Sahasra-raśmi-pāda-bhakto*), i.e. the Sun-god.

As suggested by D. C. Sircar[58], both the capital and kingdom of Dharmarāja were called Padmakholi. The city[59] is believed to be represented by Padmakhol in the neighbourhood of Narayankhol in the old Khallikot State.[60] It is, however, not known whether Pṛthivīvigraha served under the Guptas throughout his life or established himself as an independent ruler at a later stage.

King Raṇabhīta

At about the same time king Raṇabhīta of the Śailodbhava family came into prominence in some parts of Ganjam district. Since this region formed a part of the Gupta dominion and constituted a viceroyalty under Pṛthivīvigraha it is natural to conclude that the Śailodbhavas served both under the Guptas and the Vigrahas. The status and position of Raṇabhīta were in all likelihood similar to those of Dharmarāja.

King Lokavigraha

The Vigrahas threw off their nominal allegiance to the Guptas during the reign of Lokavigraha, who was one of the successors of Pṛthivīvigraha.[61] His Kanas plates[62], dated in the Gupta year 280, describe him as a *Parama-devat=ādhidaivata* and as ruling over the entire Tosalī country, which included eighteen forest kingdoms (*Tosalyāṁś=āṣṭādaś=āṭavīrājyāṁ*). Lokavigraha's claim to the suzerainty over both *Uttara* and *Dakṣiṇa* Tosalī is contradicted by the evidence of the Soro plates[63] which testify to the rule of the Māna king Śambhuyaśas in *Uttara* Tosalī in the Gupta year 260, i.e., A.D. 579. If the evidence of the Soro plates is to be relied upon,

the Vigrahas may be supposed to have been ousted by the Mānas from North Tosalī at least two decades earlier than the date of the Kanas plates. If, on the other hand, the evidence of both the records is to be believed, it has to be admitted that although he lost his hold over *Uttara* Tosalī by A.D. 579, Lokavigraha succeeded in the long run in reconquering his former kingdom. There remains, however, little room for doubt that he wielded his authority over South Tosalī as late as A.D. 599 for in that year some of his officers granted the village of Ūrdhvaśṛṅga, situated in Uṭida or Muṭida-*viṣaya* in *Dakṣiṇa* Tosalī in favour of some Brāhmaṇa students.

Mahārāja Śambhuyaśas

Reference has already been made to *Mahārāja* Śambhuyaśas[64], the Māna king, who was in possession of *Uttara* Tosalī by A.D. 579, as shown by his Soro plates where he is represented as granting from the royal camp at Tamparavaḍama eight *timpiras* (a unit of land measurement) of land in a village called Ghaṇṭākarṇakṣetra, adjoining Sarephā in *Uttara* Tosalī. We do not know for certain whether his hold over this part of Orissa continued for long or proved to be of short duration. But by the beginning of the seventh century A.D. he brought about the downfall of the Vigraha power in South Tosalī. This is proved by the Patiakella inscription which records the grant of land in the Vorttanoka-*viṣaya* in *Dakṣiṇa* Tosalī by his feudatory *Mahārāja* Śivarāja in A.D. 602. He evidently conquered South Tosalī during the reign of the Śailodbhava Ayaśobhīta who must have transferred his allegiance from the Vigrahas to the Māna conqueror. S. C. Behera (PIHC, Jabalpur, 1970, I, pp. pp. 63ff) has identified Ayaśobhīta I with Charamparāja of the Khandipada Nuapalli plates, but this is doubtful.

Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja II

The history of the Mānas after A.D. 602 is shrouded in

obscurity.[65] Three inscriptions of the reign of Śaśāṅka (two of which come from Midnapur and the third hails from Ganjam) prove beyond doubt that the Bengal king conquered the entire coastal region of Orissa before A.D. 619. The newly conquered territory was possibly divided into two parts—the northern part was placed under the rule of the viceregal family of the Dattas, while Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman (-rāja) II, the fourth king of the Śailodbhava family, was entrusted with the administration of the southern half.

One such officer appointed by Śaśāṅka to be entrusted with the administration of the northern division was Somadatta, who is known to us from his Midnapur[66] and Soro[67] copper-plate grants. The first record describes him as a *Sāmanta Mahārāja* and states that he was governing the Daṇḍabhukti-*maṇḍala* together with the *deśa* of Utkala at a time when the illustrious Śaśāṅka was ruling the earth, whose girdle was formed by the four oceans (*śrī-Śaśāṅko mahiṁ pāti caturjjaladhi—mekhalāṁ*): There is some doubt as regards the date of the plate. R. C. Majumdar provisionally reads it as 309 or 19, and he opines that in the former case the date has to be identified with the Gupta era and regarded as equivalent to A.D. 628-29. He further remarks that if the date be read as 19 it has to be referred to the regnal year of Śaśāṅka. R. C. Majumdar himself prefers the second reading while another scholar has accepted the first alternative. His Soro plates, which were evidently issued later, do not mention the name of Śaśāṅka but refer to him as a *Parama-daivatādhidaivata*. Somadatta seems to have been succeeded in his office by Bhānudatta, the proximity of time between the two being suggested by the fact that the village of Vahirvāṭaka in the Soro area, which was donated by Somadatta in his 15th regnal year to the Brāhmaṇas named Dhruvamitrasvāmin and Āruṅgamitrasvāmin, was regranted by Bhānudatta in his 5th regnal year in favour of the said two Brāhmaṇas, as well as of two others of the same family apparently on the latters' representation. He is described as *Paramadaivata śri-parama-*

bhaṭṭāraka-pād=ānudhyāta in his records which are dated in his fifth regnal year. It was at the time of Bhānudatta that Hiuen Tsang visited Orissa (about A.D. 638). Speaking about the Oḍra country, which corresponded to the Datta principality, the Chinese pilgrim says :

'This country is 7000 *li* or so in circuit ; the capital city is about 20 *li* round. The soil is rich and fertile, and it produces abundance of grain, and every kind of fruit is grown more than in other countries. It would be difficult to name the strange shrubs and the famed flowers that grow here. The climate is hot ; the people are uncivilised, tall of stature, and of a yellowish black complexion. Their words and language (pronunciation) differ from those of Central India. They love learning and apply themselves to it without intermission. Most of them believe in the law of Buddha. There are some hundred *saṁghārāmas*, with 10,000 priests. They all study the Great Vehicle. There are fifty Deva temples in which sectaries of all sorts make their abodes. The *stūpas*, to the number of ten or so, point out spots where Buddha preached. They were all founded by Aśoka-rāja.'[68]

Hiuen Tsang's narrative implies that the contemporary king of the Oḍra country, who has to be identified with Bhānudatta, was an independent one. This is quite natural, for Śaśāṅka was dead by A.D. 638 and his successors, if any, were not destined to maintain their hold over the powerful feudatories. Bhānudatta, however, could not reign in peace for long, for not long afterwards he had to bear the brunt of Harṣavardhana's aggression when the latter led an expedition as far as Koṅgoda about A.D. 643. The subsequent history of the Dattas cannot be rescued from the veil of oblivion.

Mention has already been made of the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja of the year 300 in which Śaśāṅka is extolled as the *Mahārājādhirāja* ruling over the earth (*catur=udadhi-salila-vīcī-mekhalā-nilīmāyāṁ sa-dvīpa-giri-pattana-batyāṁ vasundharāṁ......Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Śaśāṅkarāje śāsati*). The inscription then makes it abundantly clear that at least till A.D.

619 the Śailodbhava king acknowledged the suzerainty of Śaśāṅka. The Śailodbhavas, however, did not continue to swear allegiance to the Gauḍa king for long after A.D. 619. The Puri plates offer us a clue to determine the time when they became independent. Verse 10 of this inscription tells us that Mādhavavarman performed the *Aśvamedha* and other sacrifices which had fallen into abeyance owing to the negligence of impious kings of the *Kali* age (*kāleyair=bhūta-dharit-trī-patibhir=upacit=āneka-pāp-āvatārair=nītā yeṣāṁ kath=āpi pralayam=abhimatā kīrtti-pālair=ajasram yajñais=tair=Aśva-medha-prabhṛtibhir=amarā lambhitā*). Since only an independent ruler was enjoined to celebrate these sacrifices it may be presumed that Mādhavavarman set himself up as an independent king in Koṅgoda-*maṇḍala* sometime before A.D. 623, when the Puri plates were probably issued. It has been shown by some scholars[69] that Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman reduced Śaśāṅka to submission sometime between A.D. 619 and 624. Śaśāṅka's reverses naturally led his Śailodbhava feudatory to assert his independence. It was evidently during the period of his independent rule that he issued, besides the Puri plates, the Khurda, Buguda, Purushottamapur and Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates, none of which contains any reference to an overlord.

Mādhavavarman seems to have attained success against some of his enemies as would appear from his epigraphic records. The Puri plates state that he reduced the 'sovereign influence of his enemies over his own statal circle (*maṇḍala*) of kings' (*saṁkṣipta-maṇḍala-rucaś=ca gatāḥ praṇāśam=āśu dviṣo graha-gaṇā iva yasya dīptyā*). The undated Khurda grant alludes to his sovereignty over entire Kaliṅga (*sakala-Kaliṅg=ādhipati*). R. C. Majumdar[70] points out that his claim to such a paramount position may not be a mere verbose but is probably based on his success against the Eastern Gaṅgas, who were ruling over Kaliṅga as his southern neighbours. It is worth noting that his other inscriptions, which were possibly issued later than the Khurda plates, do not contain any reference to

Kaliṅga and this is evidently a pointer to the fact that his success in the south was ephimeral.

Hiuen Tsang's Visit to the Śailodbhava Kingdom

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited the Śailodbhava kingdom during the reign of Mādhavavarman II. Speaking of the country of Kung-yu-t'o he says, '......within the limits of this country there are several tens of small towns which border on the mountains and are built contiguous to the sea. The cities themselves are strong and high ; the soldiers are brave and daring ; they rule by force the neighbouring provinces, so that no one can resist them. This country, bordering on the sea, abounds in many rare and valuable articles. They use cowrie shells and pearls in commercial transactions. The great greenish blue elephant comes from this country. They harness it to their conveyances and make very long journeys.'[71]

Harṣavardhana's Invasion of Koṅgoda

It was about A.D. 642 that king Harṣavardhana of the Puṣyabhūti dynasty invaded Koṅgoda. Watters seems to be wrong when he remarks that the country was invaded and made a part of his dominions by Harṣa in A.D. 638 or 639, for it may be noted that Hiuen Tsang's description of Koṅgoda as keeping the neighbouring provinces under subjugation is hardly in agreement with this view. We learn from the itinerary of Hiuen Tsang that while the pilgrim was staying at Nalanda at the end of A.D. 642 and the beginning of A.D. 643 he heard the news of Harṣa's return from his invasion of Koṅgoda. This would place beyond doubt Harṣa's invasion shortly before the beginning of A.D. 643. He does not seem to have annexed this territory to his empire, but reinstated the defeated king Mādhavavarman II in his own kingdom with nominal acknowledgement of his overlordship. With

the death of Harṣa in c. A.D. 647 the Śailodbhava king once again became completely independent and passed the rest of his life in peace and tranquility till his death in c. A.D. 662.

Who was Lokanātha ?

N. G. Majumdar[72] suggests that Mādhavavarman II acknowledged the authority of a paramount ruler named Lokanātha in the latter part of his reign. S. N. Rajaguru is of opinion that the aggressive designs of the Eastern Gaṅgas forced him to make friendship with some kings of Eastern India, including Lokanātha. Both the theories are based on a stanza at the end of the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates, which is generally read as follows :

Jayati jayanta-pratimāḥ prasabha-samākṛṣṭa-ripu-nṛpaśrikaḥ |
śrīdhara—[po pau]raḥ kṣitipo varadīkṛta-lokanātha-sakhaḥ ||

It is difficult to agree with the above reading and interpretation of the passage. What has been read as *śrīdhara-poraḥ* and corrected to *śrīdharapaura* may be read as *śrī-Vara-moraḥ* or *śrī-Varaṇa(na)raḥ.*[73] In this connection D. C. Sircar[74] observes, 'The verse seems to refer to a ruler named Varamora or Varanara, who is described as *varadīkṛta-lokanātha-sakhaḥ.* It appears that *lokanātha* mentioned in the passage . . . . is no other than the Śailodbhava king himself and Varamora or Varanara was his feudatory who was the real donor of the grant. The word *varadīkṛta* means '(the king) who was made the giver of boons (by Varamora or Varanara)' and refers to the favour shown by the king to the feudatory by agreeing to the creation of the rent-free holding accorded in the inscription, no doubt at the feudatory's request.'[75]

King Madhyamarāja

Of the achievements of the next king, Madhyamarāja I, the son and successor of Mādhavavarman II no specific details are recorded. The Parikud plates state that he was an ardent

devotee of Śiva (*parama-māheśvaro*) and performed the *Vāja-peya* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices (*mahā-makha-Vājapey=Āśva-medhāvabhṛthasnāna*). This shows that like his illustrious father he claimed the rank of an independent ruler of some eminence. The same plates record the grant of land in Kaṭakabhukti-*viṣaya*. This may indicate that his authority extended in the north as far as the river Mahanadi.

King Dharmarāja

Dharmarāja, who succeeded Madhyamarāja I on the Śailodbhava throne, bore the secondary name of Mānabhīta and was pre-eminently a scholar (*sakala-śāstra-viśeṣa-vedī*). His crowning act of glory was his victory over Mādhava who was probably his younger brother. Mādhava bore the evil design of usurping the throne (*kṛta-viṣama-matir*), but sustained a setback in the battle of Phāsikā (*a-pāstuṁ=kṛta. . . .Phāsi-kāyāṁ*). Thereafter he sought the help of king Tīvara (*yuddha-kṣobhena bhagno nṛpati-varam=asau saṁśritas=Tīvar-ākhyaṁ*), but was repulsed along with his ally in a battle fought in the foothills of the Vindhyas (*paścāt=ten=āpi sārddhaṁ punar=api vijita Vindhya-pādeṣu*). S. C. Behera[76] suggests that it 'was probably after this significant triumph over the mighty Tīvararāja that Dharmarāja claimed the proud titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* in his Nivina plates' but of this we do not have any definite evidence. As shown earlier, this Tīvara was a successor of the famous Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Mahāśiva Tīvara. Dharmarāja was a devout worshipper of god Śiva, yet following the principle of religious toleration he endorsed the grant of a piece of land in Thorana-*viṣaya* in favour of the Jaina monk Prabuddhacandra. His Banpur plates mention the queen Kalyāṇadevī, who was either his wife or his mother or step-mother.[77]

The Later Members of the House

Very little is known about the later rulers of the family.

We learn from the fragmentary Tekkali plates of Madhyamarāja III that Dharmarāja was succeeded on the throne by his son Madhyamarāja II, who in his turn was followed by his son Raṇakṣobha. The latter king probably died childless and the throne, accordingly, passed into the hands of Allaparāja, who was the son of an unnamed brother of Madhyamarāja II. The next king was Madhyamarāja III who was the son of *yuvarāja* Taillapanibha, but his relationship with the previous ruler is not known. It is equally uncertain whether all these kings were independent rulers or relegated to the rank of feudatories by a paramount power.

The Decline and Fall of the Śailodbhava Kingdom

From Russelkonda in Ganjam district has been unearthed an inscription[78], dated in the 26th regnal year of king Neṭṭabhañja, which, from palæographical considerations, may be placed in the second half of the eighth century A.D. The inscription was issued from Vārāḍḍā, identified with modern Barada or Baruda, 7 miles from Russelkonda, and it records the grant of a village in Kāmberāla-*viṣaya* in favour of some Brāhmaṇas. Since Neṭṭabhañja's rise to power in parts of the Ganjam area synchronised with the decline of the Śailodbhava dynasty, it is natural to connect the two events in the cause-effect relationship. He was not a petty ruler and his dominions comprised parts of Cuttack, Dhenkanal and Ganjam districts. It cannot escape notice that there is hardly any positive evidence in support of the theory, upheld by a few scholars that the Bhauma-Karas were instrumental in bringing about the downfall of the Śailodbhava power. The Śailodbhavas disappeared from the scene about fifty years earlier than the advent of the Bhauma kings on the political chess-board of Orissa.

The Śailodbhavas were distinct from the Śailas

Hiralal thinks that the Śailodbhavas were possibly connec-

ted with the Śailas of Madhya Pradesh, who find mention in the Ragholi copper-plates of Jayavardhana. This theory is, however, open to the following objections :

First, the Ragholi plates refer to the Śailas as having founded their settlements in different parts of India (the Himalayan valley, Puṇḍra, Kāśī, the Vindhyan region, etc.), but they do not associate them with Orissa where the Śailodbhavas were ruling ;

Secondly, the names of the Śaila kings are not at all similar to or identical with those of the Śailodbhava kings ;

Thirdly, the seal of the Śailodbhava records contains a bull which is conspicuously absent from the seal, attached to the Ragholi plates.[79]

The Bhauma-Kara Era

Mention has already been made of the Bhauma-Kara kings. There is a great deal of controversy regarding their chronology. D. R. Bhandarkar and B. Misra[80], who is guided by the belief that Rājamalla, the father of queen Tribhuvanamahādevī, was identical with the Pallava king Pallavamalla (A.D. 690-740), surmise that the dynasty came to power in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. But the palæography of their records suggests a much later date, and further, Misra's identification of Rājamalla has not been generally accepted. R. C. Majumdar[81], N. K. Sahu[82] and K. C. Panigrahi[83] propounded the view that the dynasty was founded about the middle of the eighth century on the following grounds :

1. In A.D. 795[84] a king of Wu-ch'a, identified with Oḍra in Orissa, sent to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong an autographed manuscript of the Buddhist work *Gaṇḍavyūha* through his envoy Prajñā. The Orissan king was a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and his name, translated into Chinese, was 'the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion'. The king of Wu-ch'a has been identified with Śivakara I[85] or

Śubhākara I[86], the second and the third kings of the Bhauma-Kara family.

2. K. C. Panigrahi[87] opines that Pṛthvīmahādevī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādevī of the year 158 was the daughter of Svabhāvatuṅga, identified with the Somavaṁśī king Janamejaya I, who, according to him, ruled from c. A.D. 882 to A.D. 922.

3. The Arab geographer Ibn Khurdadhbih[88], who wrote his accounts in A.D. 846, speaks of a female ruler of Orissa, who has to be identified with Tribhuvanamahādevī I one of whose records is possibly dated in the year 120.

The validity of the above arguments may, however, be doubted. The identification of the Orissan contemporary of the Chinese king Te-tsong is not convincing. The original Sanskrit name of the Orissan king would be śrī-Subhakara-devakesarī (siṁha). He can hardly be identified with the Bhauma-Kara Śubhākara, because, first his name is literally different (Śubhākara means 'producer of what is good or pure' while Śubhakara denotes 'doer of what is good or pure') and moreover, his name does not contain the word *siṁha* as one of its component parts. Nor can he be identified with Śiva-kara I Unmaṭṭasiṁha, for, 'the word *śiva* does not mean 'pure' and *Unmaṭṭasiṁha* means a 'ferocious lion'. The Orissan king of the Chiness records was evidently a non-Bhauma king who flourished in the last quarter of the eight century A.D. D. C. Sircar[89] has drawn the attention of scholars to a king of Orissa named Śubhakarasiṁha who arrived in China in A.D. 716. The Indian contemporary of Te-tsong may be identified with one of his descendants.[90] It may be pointed out against the second argument that the equation of Svabhāvatuṅga with Janamejaya I is not certain, and further, the period of his rule, as fixed by Panigrahi is not beyond dispute. And lastly, although Ibn Khurdadhbih refers to a female ruler of Orissa, it is difficult to determine how far his accounts are historical, particularly when we remember that he derived his knowledge about Orissa from hearsay evidence.

For determining the date of the Bhauma-Kara kings we may note the following facts :

In the first place, the Baud plate[91] of Pṛthvīmahādevī, *alias* Tribhuvanamahādevī II, dated in the year 148, describes the queen as the daughter of the king (*rājñaḥ*) Svabhāvatuṅga, belonging to the lunar dynasty (*śitāṁśuvaṁśa*) of Kosala (*Kosal=ādhipati*). A short supplement of three verses[92], engraved at the end of the Bolangir Museum plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I shows that the said king bore the name of Svabhāvatuṅga. Thus the Somavaṁśī Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I was in all probability the father of the Bhauma queen Pṛthvīmahādevī. K. C. Panigrahi[93] objects to the identification of Svabhāvatuṅga with Yayāti I because he thinks that 'the latter has never been credited with the conquest or invasion of Orissa in any of the official records of the Somavaṁśīs'. But this is hardly correct. In fact, one of his inscriptions is actually found to record the grant of some land in *Dakṣiṇa-Tosali* in Orissa. Now, the date of Yayāti I is not known for certain, but it is intimately connected with the date of the Bhañja chief Raṇabhañja. The latter king was a contemporary of the Kadamba ruler Niyārṇava or Niyārṇama who was the grandfather of Dharmakheḍi, known from his records, dated in the Śaka year 917 (A.D. 995) and the Gaṅga year 520 (A.D. 1018). Raṇabhañja thus seems to have flourished in the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century A.D. Yayāti I is known to have granted a village in Gandhaṭapāṭi-*maṇḍala*. Gandhaṭapāṭi-*maṇḍala* was named after Raṇabhañja's father Śatrubhañja I Gandhaṭa. Consequently a date for the Somavaṁśī king in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. will not be far from truth. His daughter, who was not far removed from him, has to be placed at the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. We shall accordingly have to look for the beginning of the Bhauma era in the first half of the ninth century.

Secondly, Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty conquered the Puri-Cuttack region about the beginning

of the twelfth century A.D. The Bhauma-Kara kings, who were also ruling over the coastal region of Orissa, could hardly have flourished after Anantavarman, for the latter's descendants were in continual possession of the region for several centuries. It was about the second quarter of the eleventh century that Anantavarman conquered this region from the Somavaṁśī kings who were in occupation of this area. Since the known dates of the Bhauma-Kara kings extend from the year 50 (or 20) to the year 187 of the same era, we may be justified in assuming that the dynasty ruled for a period of 200 years. We may naturally place the foundation of the Bhauma rule at the first half of the ninth century.

The Dasapalla plate[94] of Śatrubhañja enables us to advance a step further in re-solving the issue. The plate is dated in the year 198, apparently of the Bhauma-Kara era. If it is accepted that the Bhauma-Kara era started from the first part of the ninth century A.D., the year 198 would approximately fall in the first half of the eleventh century. The plate, dated in the year 198, was issued on the day of *Viṣṇusaṁkrānti, Ravi-dina, Pañcamī* and *Mṛgaśirā-nakṣatra*. The 23rd March, of A.D. 1029[95] was the only date between A.D. 1000 and 1100, when this combination actually occurred. We accordingly come to A.D. 831 as the initial year of the Bhauma-Kara era.

The Origin and Early History of the Bhauma-Karas

Our knowledge about the origin and early history of the family is meagre. It was called Bhauma, because it claimed descent from *bhūmi* or earth. It was further designated as Kara, for the names of all the members ended in *kara*. At an early date the Bhauma-Karas appear to have occupied a tract contiguous to the Mahendra mountains, for the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[96] describes them as *Māhendras* and living under the protection of a non-Aryan king named Guha. That Guha was an early ruler of the tribe is probably evidenced by the fact that Guhadevapāṭaka or Guheśvarapāṭaka, the capital of the

Bhauma-Kara kingdom, was named after him. B. Misra[97] thinks the Bhuyans, predominating in the north-western frontier of Orissa, are the modern representatives of the ancient Bhaumas. Some scholars suggest that the Orissan Karas were connected with their namesakes of Assam on the ground that the Karas of both the regions claimed their descent from Naraka of legendry fame, although others[98] hold an opposite view.

Early Kings of the House

The Neulpur plate[99] of Śubhākara I, dated possibly in the year 54, mentions *Mahārāja* Kṣemaṅkaradeva as the father of Śivakaradeva I and earliest member of the family.[100] The later records of the family represent Lakṣmīkara as the progenitor of the family. B. Misra[101] is of opinion that Lakṣmīkara was the father of Kṣemaṅkara, while D. C. Sircar[102] regards them as identical. Both the views are unsupported by any cogent evidence. Since these two names are quite distinct, it is natural to regard them as two different persons. Lakṣmīkara was probably the earlier of the two. The title *Paramopāsaka,* which is applied to Kṣemaṅkara, shows that he was a Buddhist. He is said to have 'placed castes in their proper duties' (*svadharm-āropita-varṇ=āśramaḥ*).

We come to learn from the Badal pillar inscription[103] of Bhaṭṭa Guravamiśra that the Pāla king Devapāla (c. A.D. 810-850), assisted by the wisdom of his minister Kedāramiśra exterminated the Utkalas (*utkilit-otkalakulaṁ*) whose king fled in panic from his capital. It is quite likely that there might have been one or more expeditions against Utkala before the country was thoroughly subjugated. Since Devapāla's success in the Orissa expedition was due in no small measure to the diplomacy of Kedāramiśra, the grandson of Darbhapāṇi, who served the Pāla king during the early part of his reign, it may be reasonably presumed that the invasion occurred quite late in his reign. The contemporary Orissa king, overwhelmed

by the Pāla army, has accordingly to be identified with one of the early three members of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. The theory of R. C. Majumdar[104] that the 'Pālas probably conquered Utkala during or immediately after the reign of Śivakara' is not in agreement with the chronology of the Bhauma Kara kings, adopted in these pages.

Other Members of the House

Paramatathāgata Mahārāja Śivakaradeva *alias* Unmattasiṁha *alias* Bharasaha was the son of Kṣemaṅkara. According to the Talcher plate of the year 149 he defeated the king of Rāḍha in West Bengal and forcibly carried away his daughter Jayāvatīdevī. A copper-plate grant from Ganjam[105] shows that he had fixed his headquarters in the city of Virajas (evidently a variant of Virajā, which is a well-known name of Jajpur) and was in possession of a part of Koṅgoda-*maṇḍala*, which was placed under the supervision of his feudatory *Rāṇaka* Viṣavārṇava. Śivakara I thus ruled over a wide stretch of territory and was the first great king of the dynasty.

Śivakara I was followed by his son *Paramasaugata Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Śubhākara I. The Neulpur grant[106] seems to imply the fact that he quelled a revolt of his kinsmen who wrongfully claimed the throne. He married Mādhavadevī (whose name is often wrongly read as Mādhavīdevī), who was a devotee of the god Śiva, as known from the Haṁseśvara temple inscription.[107] The king and the queen evidently belonged to two different religious systems.

Śubhākara I was succeeded by his eldest son *Paramasaugata* Śivakara II who married Mohinīdevī of the Bhavāna lineage. In his Chaurasi plate[108], dated probably in the year 73, he is described as the lord of both *Uttara* and *Dakṣiṇa* Tosala and given the high sounding epithets of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. He was followed by his younger brother Śāntikara I, *alias* Gayāḍa I, *alias* Lalitabhāra I or

Lalitahāra I, who married Tribhuvanamahādevī, the daughter of the Nagavaṁśī king Rājamalla[109] of the south, sometime before the year 93 which is the date of the Dhauli inscription[110], issued by the latter. The next king to ascend the Bhauma throne was *Paramasaugata P.M.P.* Śubhākara II, the son of his elder brother, king Śivakara II, the Terundia plate of whose reign[111] is dated in the year 100. One of his queens, named Nṛnnādevī is known to us. This king probably died childless and was followed by his cousin, also called Śubhākara (III)[112] *alias* Siṁhaketu(-dhvaja) *alias* Kusumahāra (-bhāra) I. Some idea about the extent of the Bhauma-Kara kingdom during his reign may be obtained with the help of his Hindol and Dharakota plates, both of which are dated in the year 103. The first charter records the gift of the village of Naddilo in Kañkavira-*viṣaya* in *Uttara* Tosala while the latter registers the grant of the village of Gundaja in Jayakaṭaka-*viṣaya* of Koṅgoda-*maṇḍala* in *Dakṣiṇa* Tosala. Thus Śubhākara III exercised his suzerainty over both Northern and Southern Tosala. The three Talcher plates, dated in the years 145 and 149, show that the throne next passed to the queen mother Tribhuvanamahādevī I *alias* Sindagaurī. Her Dhenkanal plate[113], which was issued in the year 120, states that she assumed the reins of government in imitation of Gosvāminī of ancient times at the persuasion of her feudatories. According to the testimony of one of the Talcher grants she later on abdicated the throne in favour of her grandson Śāntikara II *alias* Gayāḍa II or Loṇabhāra (Lavaṇabhāra) when the latter became sufficiently grown-up. Unlike the predecessors who were staunch Buddhists, she was a devotee of the god Viṣṇu. Śāntikara II married Hirāmahādevī, daughter of king Siṁhamāna who was possibly ruling in the Manbhum region.[114]

Śāntikara II had two sons, viz., Śubhākara IV *alias* Kusumahāra(-bhāra) II, who married Pṛthvīmahādevī and issued the Talcher plate, dated probably in the year 145[115], and Śivakara III *alias* Lalitahāra (-bhāra) II, who ruled in succession. Both the brothers were Śaivas. King Vinītatuṅga

of the Tuṅga family, who was ruling in Yamagartta-*maṇḍala*, owed allegiance to Śivakara III.

The death of Śivakara III was followed by a struggle for succession to the throne. This king had two sons, Śāntikara III *alias* Lavaṇabhāra II and Śubhākara V, but they were denied their rightful claim to the throne. Pṛthvīmahādevī, the widowed queen of Śubhākara IV, informs us in her Baud plates of the year 158 that since both her husband and the latter's younger brother died without leaving any male issue, she ascended the throne. Pṛthvīmahādevī evidently did not recognise the sons of Śivakara III as rightful heirs and successfully occupied the throne for sometime. The Pāṇḍuvaṃśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I who, as it has already been pointed out, was her father, espoused her cause. One of his inscriptions[116] records the grant of a village called Candagrāma in Marada-*viṣaya* in *Dakṣiṇa* Tosalī. Both the village and district[117] are located in Cuttack district which was situated within the Bhauma-Kara dominions. This grant seems to have been made at a time when Yayāti I was fighting for his daughter with the sons of Śivakara III. Pṛthvīmahādevī's hold over Daṇḍabhukti-*maṇḍala* is proved by her Baud plates which show that the queen granted some land in the same area. In imitation of the first reigning queen of the family she assumed the name of Tribhuvanamahādevī and Sindagaurī and the epithet of *Paramavaiṣṇavī*.

The Decline and Fall of the Bhauma-Kara Kingdom

Pṛthvīmahādevī was not destined to reign for long, as she was soon overthrown by Śivakara III's eldest son Śāntikara III *alias* Lavaṇabhāra II, the husband of Dharmamahādevī. The latter king was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Śubhākara V who married Gaurīmahādevī and Vakulamahādevī. Gaurīmahādevī succeeded her husband, as the latter probably left no male heir and she was followed by her daughter Daṇḍīmahādevī whose known dates are the years

180 and 187. Her Santirigrama[118] grant is dated in the year 280, but the year 280 is a mistake for 180. The Ganjam[119] and Kumurang[120] plates testify to her hold over the whole of *Dakṣiṇa* Tosala. Her Santirigrama grant further alludes to her supremacy over Yamagartta-*maṇḍala* where her feudatory *Rāṇaka* Apsarodeva was ruling. The Taltali plate[121] of Dharmamahādevī tells us that Daṇḍīmahādevī was followed by her step-mother Vakulamahādevī, who was born in the Bhañja family. The circumstances in which the latter occupied the throne are not known for certain. It is quite likely that Daṇḍīmahādevī died at a premature age without leaving any heir to succeed her on the throne. It may again be presumed that she was dethroned by her jealous step-mother who might have secured help from her paternal family in the struggle for succession. Vakulamahādevī, in her turn, was succeeded by Dharmamahādevī, the wife of Śāntikara III. She was probably the last ruler of the dynasty.[122] It was either during her reign or shortly after her death that the dynasty was supplanted by the Somavaṁśīs of South Kosala.

REFERENCES

1. A copper-plate inscription of Śambhuyaśas, recording the grant of a village in favour of a certain Brahman, has been discovered from Erbang near Konarak in Puri district in 1965. It bestows on Śambhuyaśas the titles of *Paramadaivata* and *Mahārāja* and represents him as ruling in *Dakṣiṇa*-Tosalī. S. N. Rajaguru (*OHRJ*, XII, pp. 113-22) reads the date of the epigraph as 235, but this is doubtful.
2. *EI*, XXIII, pp. 199-200. D. R. Bhandarkar (*List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 160) also suggests that the year 283 of the Patiakella grant should be referred to the Kalacuri era.

3. *OHRJ*, IV, pp. 6-10 ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, p. 153.
4. *EI*, IX, p. 287.
5. Ibid, pp. 285-88.
6. *JIH*, XXXIV, pp. 280-81.
7. *EI*, VI, pp. 143-46 ; Ibid, VII, pp. 100-02 ; *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1339 ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 157-61.
8. Hultzsch while editing the Ganjam plates reads his name as Yaśobhīta.
9. *JASB*, LXXIII, (1904) pt. I, pp. 282 ff ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 162-65.
10. *EI*, III, pp. 41 ff ; *EI*, VII, p. 100 ; *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1672 ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 166-72.
11. *OHRJ*, II, pp. 20 ff ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 173-77.
12. *EI*, XXIII, pp. 122 ff ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 178-85.
13. *EI*, XXIV, pp. 148 ff ; *OHRJ*, II, pp. 17-19 ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 186-90.
14. The identification of Mādhavavarman with Mādhavarāja, so far as these two forms are concerned, involves no real difficulty. The Cālukya rulers Vijayavarman and Kīrtivarman are called in some of their copper-plate grants Vijayarāja and Kīrtirāja respectively.
15. *JAHRS*, X, p. 3.
16. The Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman have the following passage :—*Śailodbhavasya kulajo' Raṇabhīta āsīd ... tasya sūnuḥ śri-Sainyabhīta iti bhūmipatiḥ ... || tasy=āpi vaṁśe yathārthanāmā jāto' Yaśobhīta iti kṣitīśa | jāto'tha tasya tanaya ... śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhūmipatiḥ ... | jātena yena ... Śrīnivāsena ... sa śrī-Mādhavavarmā |*
17. *EI*, XXIV, pp. 148 ff.
18. *EI*, XXIX, pp. 38 ff ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 223-28.
19. *OHRJ*, III, p. 33.
20. Ibid, p. 33.
21. Stein's translation, II, p. 512.
22. V, 124.
23. *SS*, p. 250.
24. *EI*, V, p. 184.

25. *EI*, XI, pp. 281 ff ; *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1675. While editing the Parikud plates R. D. Banerji, relying on his wrong reading of the text, regarded Madhyamarāja to be the son of Ayaśobhita (II).
26. As pointed out earlier R. D. Banerji erroneously holds Madhyamarāja to be the son of Ayaśobhita. Majumdar (*JAHRS*, X, p. 2) points out, '... the correct reading of the last *pāda* of verse 13 suggests that Ayaśobhita II and Madhyamarāja refer to the same king'.
27. *EI*. XXI, pp. 34 ff ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 206-12.
28. *JKHRS*, II, pp. 59 ff ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 213-17.
29. *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 218-22.
30. *EI*, XXIX, pp. 38-43 ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 223-28.
31. *JBORS*, XVI, pp. 176-88 ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 229 ff.
32. *EI*, XIX, pp. 265-70 ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 235-40.
33. *JBORS*, IV, pp. 162-7 ; *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1676.
34. *JBORS*, IV, p. 164.
35. *JAHRS*, X, p. 3.
36. *EI*, XXIII, p. 122.
37. Ibid, XXIV, p. 151.
38. *IHQ*, XXVII, p. 166.
39. According to this calculation the date of the grant would be 88=606=694 A.D. (*EI*, XI, p. 282).
40. *IHQ*, XXVII, p. 167.
41. *EI*, XI, p. 282.
42. *IHQ*, XXVII, p. 167.
43. *JBORS*, XVI, p. 177.
44. *EI*, XXIV, p. 39.
45. *IHQ*, XXVII, p. 168.
46. *OHRJ*, III, pp. 109 ff.
47. Hiralal (*EI*, XI, p. 184) assigns the Sirpur Lakṣmaṇa Temple inscription of Tīvaradeva's brother's grandson Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna to the eighth or ninth century A.D. But V. V. Mirashi points out that the forms of *ma, ra, la, ṭa, da* and *ka* show that the record must be placed earlier than the eighth century A.D. Since they

closely resemble their counterparts in the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅka (dated A.D. 619), the inscription may be referred to the first half of the seventh century A.D.

48. *EI*, XVII, p. 240.
49. *HO*, I, pp. 204, 225.
50. *EI*, IV, p. 258.
51. Ibid, III, p. 333.
52. *OHRJ*, XI, pp. 85-94.
53. *MSI*, I, pp. 220 ff.
54. In these records *Mahārāja* Mādhavavarman is described as 'one who delighted the hearts of (or, sported in company of) the best ladies in the mansions of the city of Tīvara' (*Trivara-nagara-bhavanagata-yuvatī-hṛdaya-nandanaḥ*, and *Trivara-nagara-bhavanagata-parama-yuvatī-jana-viharaṇaratiḥ*).
55. *MSI*, I, p. 227.
56. *SS*, p. 112. The view of Sircar regarding the time of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I, though agrees to a great extent to that of V. V. Mirashi, is contradicted by K. A. Nilkanta Sastri (*CA*, pp. 223 ff) who places the king between A.D. 460 and 480.
57. B. C. Chhabra (*EI*, XXVIII, p. 84) opines that Ubhaya, as the name of a person, sounds rather queer and takes it to be Abhaya. This is also the view of S. N. Rajaguru. B. C. Chhabra reads the corresponding passage of the text as *mahārāj=Ābhay=ānvayo.*
58. *EI*, XXVIII, 84.
59. Ibid, p. 84.
60. S. N. Rajaguru (*JAHRS*, XIX, pp. 117-18), supported by A. K. Rath (*OHRJ*, XI, p. 57), has erroneously taken Dharmarāja to be a member of the Śailodbhava dynasty on the basis of the following inconclusive arguments :
    1. The suffix *abhīta* attached to the name of the Śailodbhava kings is a synonym of the word '*abhaya*'.

2. Dharmarāja is a familiar name with the Śailodbhava rulers.
3. The find-spot of the Sumandala plates lies within Koṅgoda-*maṇḍala*, the scene of the activities of the Śailodbhavas.

61. The reigning periods of these two kings do not exceed more than 30 years and accordingly, the suggestion of S. N. Rajaguru that Lokavigraha might have been a son or grandson of Pṛthivīvigraha may not be unfounded (*JAHRS*, X, p. 120). But Rajaguru's other hypothesis that Śaśāṅka was a scion of the Vigraha dynasty is undoubtedly wide of the mark.
62. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 328 ff ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 122 ff.
63. *EI*, XXIII, pp. 197 ff.
64. In line 3 of the Patiakella plate R. D. Banerji reads the name of the king as Śagguyayyana. In an editorial note on Banerji's article Sten Konow observes, 'I am unable to see *Śagguyayyane*, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading ; I think I see *Śambhuyayye=nu*.' N. G. Majumdar correctly reads the name of the king as Śambhuyaśas.
65. A Bhauma epigraph mentions one Siṁhamāna, while a record, dated in the Śaka year 1059, from Govindapur in Gaya district refers to the Māna kings Varṇamāna and Rudramāna. It is not known whether the Mānas of Orissa were related to the Mānas of Bihar.
66. *JASB*, XI (1945), pp. 7-8 ; Pravāsī (Bengali), V.S. 1350, pp. 291 ff.
67. *EI*, XXIII, pp. 202-3.
68. Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, II, (1906), pp. 204-5.
69. *EHNI*, p. 280.
70. *JAHRS*, X, p. 11.
71. Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, II.
72. *EI*, XXIV, p. 150.
73. The reading *va* for *dha* is justified, because, the latter, concerned, has a top *mātrā* as expected in *va*. The third

akṣara looks more like *mo* or *pa* than *po*. The expression thus reads *śrī-Varamoraḥ* or *śrī-Varaṇa(na)raḥ*. (*EI*, XXXIII, p. 52).

74. *IE*, pp. 117-18.

75. S. N. Rajaguru (*OHRJ*, II, pt. III, p. 24) translates the passage differently as follows : 'Let the prosperity goes to the king Varamora (who is) like Jayanta, (son of Indra, the lord of Heaven) (who has) rapidly attracted (with his own prowess) the *śrī* (fortune) of the enemy-kings (to his side) ; (and who is) the friend of the Blessed Lokanātha.'

76. *OHRJ*, XI, p. 94.

77. D. C. Sircar (*EI*, XXIX, p. 40) observes on this point : 'Nothing is recorded in regard to the relation that existed between the queen Kalyāṇadevī and the king Dharmarāja, although the epithet *rājñī* seems to suggest that she was one of the king's wives. The epithet *bhagavatī*, used before the word *rājñī*, may actually refer to an unnamed goddess established in Prabuddhacandra's residence. In case, it was intended for the queen, she has possibly to be taken as the mother or step-mother of the king.'

78. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 258 ff.

79. *EI*, IX, pp. 44 ff.

80. *OUBK*, pp. 72 ff.

81. *AIK*, p. 64.

82. Hunter, *A History of Orissa*, II, p. 347.

83. *CBKSO*, p. 9.

84. *EI*, XV, pp. 236 ff.

85. *AIK*, p. 64.

86. *EI*, XV, pp. 236 ff.

87. *CBKSO*, p. 6.

88. Ibid, p. 30.

89. *JIH*, XXXIV, p. 305.

90. An image inscription bearing the name of Śubhakara (or Śubhākara) has been discovered by A. Ghosh in the

village of Khadipada near Bhadrak (*EI*, XXVI, pp. 247 ff). It is palæographically earlier than the Neulpur charter. King Śubhakarasiṁha of the Chinese accounts may be identified with his namesake of the present epigraph.

91. *EI*, XXIX, pp. 210 ff.
92. *JASL*, XIX, pp. 117 ff.
93. *CHKSO*, p. 6.
94. *EI*, XXIX, pp. 189 ff.
95. *JIH*, XXXIV, p. 305 ; *OHRJ*, I, pp. 208 ff ; *CBKSO*, p. 9.
96. *DKA*, p. 54.
97. *DMO*, p. 14.
98. *AIK*, p. 62.
99. O*UBK*, pp. 1 ff. The date of the Neulpur plate, which is represented by a numerical symbol, is doubtful. D. R. Bhandarkar reads the date as 200.
100. The Oriya *Mahābhārata* by Sāralādāsa mentions Viṣṇukara as the founder of the Kara family at Śivapura (O*UBK*, p. 87) but Viṣṇukara is undoubtedly a mythical figure.
101. *JIH*, XXXIV, p. 293.
102. Ibid, p. 297.
103. *EI*, II, pp. 160 ff ; A. K. Maitreya, *Gauḍa-lekhamālā* (in Bengali), pp. 70 ff.
104. *HB*, I, pp. 117-8.
105. *IHQ*, XII, pp. 192-93.
106. O*UBK*, p. 1.
107. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 180 ff.
108. *JBORS*, XIV, pp. 292 ff. The date of the plate has been interpreted by N. Tripathi as 13.
109. The Dhenkanal plate describes Tribhuvanamahādevī I as the daughter of Rājamalla of the southern country (*Dakṣiṇ-āśā-mukha-tilaka*). The identity of Rājamalla is far from certain. B. Misra (*DMO*, pp. 20-21) thinks that the Pallava king Pallavamalla was the father of Tribhuvanamahādevī I. K. C. Panigrahi (*CBKSO*,

p. 29) identifies Rājamalla with the Western Gaṅga king Rājamalla I who ruled from A.D. 817 to 835. According to D. C. Sircar (*JIH*, XXXIV, p. 298) this king may be identified with one of the predecessors of Irmaḍi Rācamalla (i.e., Rājamalla II).

110. *EI*, XIX, p. 263.

111. Ibid, XXVIII, pp. 211 ff.

112. Misra suggests that Śāntikara I was followed by his son Śubhākara II who issued the Hindol and Dharakota plates in the year 103. But this view can no longer be maintained after the discovery of the Terundia plate which informs us that 'Śāntikara I was not directly succeeded on the throne by his own son named Śubhākara but that his immediate successor was his elder brother's son also named Śubhākara' (*JIH*, XXXIV, p. 294).

113. There is some doubt about the date of the Dhenkanal plate. S. C. De (*OHRJ*, VIII, pp. 151 ff.) reads it as 160, whereas, B. Misra and D. C. Sircar (*JIH*, XXXIV, pp. 296 ff.) read the date as 120. De suggests that Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate was different from the mother and successor of Śubhākara III, but ruled after Pṛthvīmahādevī. D. C. Sircar has shown the untenability of S. C. De's view.

114. *JIH*, XXXIV, p. 298.

115. Ibid, p. 294.

116. *EI*, III, p, 352.

117. Candagrāma and Maraḍa have been respectively located at Chandgan, 32 miles south-east of Cuttack and at Barada or Barada-Hariharpur, situated in Cuttack district (*DMO*, p. 68 ; *CBKSO*, p. 9).

118. *EI*, XXIX, pp. 79ff.

119. Ibid, VI, pp. 133-40 ; 140-2.

120. *JBORS*, V, pp. 564-77.

121. *IHQ*, XXI, pp. 213 ff.

122. Curiously enough, the last four rulers of the Bhauma family were all women. D. C. Sircar (*JIH*, XXXIV, p. 295) observes in this context, when an ancient Indian king died without leaving any male child, usually his widowed queen accepted a boy as an adopted son and this boy was raised to his adopted father's throne. This practice was also sometimes followed by the Bhauma-Karas. But the practice of raising a queen to the vacant throne of her dead husband seems to have been more popular with the people they ruled. We do not know the real cause underlying this peculiar phenomenon. But it can be said that the Oriyas of those days had no reason to dislike the rule of women.'

Appendix

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

Vigraha Inscriptions

Pṛthivīvigraha

1. Sumandala Copper-plate Inscription
   S. N. Rajaguru, *JAHRS*, XIX, pp. 117-30 ; *OHRJ*, I, pp. 66-69 ; *IO*, I, pp. 113-16 ; D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 79-85.

Lokavigraha

2. Kanas Copper-plate Inscription
   S. N. Rajaguru, *JKHRS*, II, pp. 261-66 ; *IO*, I, pp. 120-23 ; D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 331 ff.

Māna Inscriptions

Śambhuyaśas

3. Soro Copper-plate Inscription
   N. G. Majumdar, *EI*, XXIII, p. 201 ; S. N. Rajaguru, *IO*, I, pp. 117-19.
4. Patiakella Copper-plate Inscription
   R. D. Banerji, *EI*, IX, pp. 285-88 ; S. N. Rajaguru, *IO*, I, pp. 124-27.
5. Erbang Copper-plate Inscription
   S. N. Rajaguru, *OHRJ*, XII, pp. 113-22.

Datta Inscriptions

Somadatta

6. Midnapore Copper-plate Inscription
   R. C. Majumdar, *JASB*, XI, No. I, pp. 7-8 ; S. N. Rajaguru, *IO*, I, pp. 141-43.

7. Soro Copper-plate Inscription
   N. G. Majumdar, *EI*, XXIII, pp. 202-3 ; S. N. Rajaguru, *IO*, I, pp. 136-40.

Bhānudatta

8. Balasore Copper-plate Inscription
   Haridas Mitra, *IHQ*, XI, pp. 611-18 ; R. K. Ghosal, *EI*, XXVI, pp. 239-40 ; S. N. Rajaguru, *IO*, I, pp. 128-30.
9. Soro Copper-plate Inscription
   N. G. Majumdar, *EI*, XXIII, pp. 203-4 ; S. N. Rajaguru, *IO*, I, pp. 131-32.
10. Olasing Copper-plate Inscription
   S. N. Rajaguru, J*KHRS*, II, pp. 31-46 ; *IO*, I, pp. 133-35 ; D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 331 ff.

Miscellaneous Inscriptions

Gopacandra

11. Jayarampur Copper-plate Inscription
   S. N. Rajaguru, *OHR*J, XI, pp. 206 ff ; D. C. Sircar, *SI*, I, pp. 530-31.

Śubhakīrti

12. Midnapore Copper-plate Inscription
   R. C. Majumdar, J*ASB*, XI, No. I, pp. 9 ff ; S. N. Rajaguru, *IO*, I, pp. 144-46.

Śailodbhava Inscriptions

Mādhavavarman(-rāja) II

13. Ganjam Copper-plate Inscription
   Hultzsch, *EI*, VI, pp. 143-46 ; *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1339 ; S. N. Rajaguru, *IO*, I, pp. 157-61.

14. Khurda Copper-plate Inscription
    G. Laskar, *JASB*, LXXIII, pt. I, pp. 282-86 ; *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1673 ; S. N. Rajaguru, *IO*, I, pp. 162-65.
15. Buguda Copper-plate Inscription
    Kielhorn, *EI*, III, pp. 41-46 ; ibid, VII, pp. 100-02 ; *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1672 ; S. N. Rajaguru, IO, I, pp. 166-72.
16. Purushottampur Copper-plate Inscription
    S. N. Rajaguru, IO, I, pp. 173-77 ; OHRJ, II, Nos. III-IV, pp. 20 ff.
17. Puri Copper-plate Inscription
    R. G. Basak, *EI*, XXIII, pp. 122-31 ; S. N. Rajaguru, IO, I, pp. 178-85.
18. Orissa Museum Copper-plate Inscription
    N. G. Majumdar, *EI*, XXIV, pp. 148-53 ; S. N. Rajaguru, IO, I, pp. 186-90 ; OHRJ, II, Nos. III-IV, pp. 6-23.

Madhyamarāja I

19. Banpur Copper-plate Inscription
    S. N. Rajaguru, JKHRS, II, pt. I, pp 59-65 ; IO, I, pp. 191-98 ; D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXX, pp. 33-38.
20. Parikud Copper-plate Inscription
    R. D. Banerji, *EI*, XI, pp. 281-7 ; *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1675 ; S. N. Rajaguru, IO, I, pp. 199-205.

Dharmarāja

21. Nivina Copper-plate Inscription
    N. P. Chakravarti, *EI*, XXI, pp. 34-41 ; S. N. Rajaguru, IO, I, pp. 206-12.
22. Chandeswar Copper-plate Inscription
    S. N. Rajaguru, JKHRS, II, No. I, pp. 59-72 ; IO, I, pp. 213-17.
23. Ranpur Copper-plate Inscription
    S. N. Rajaguru, IO, I, pp. 218-22.

24. Banpur Copper-plate Inscription
D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXIX, pp. 38-43 ; S. N. Rajaguru, IO, I, pp. 223-28.
25. Puri Copper-plate Inscription
Bhandarkar's List, No. 2041 ; S. N. Rajaguru, JBORS, XVI, pp. 176-88 ; IO, I, pp. 229-34.
26. Kondedda Copper-plate Inscription
Y. R. Gupte, *EI*, XIX, pp. 265-70 ; S. N. Rajaguru, IO, I, pp. 235-40

Madhyamarāja II

27. Tekkali Copper-plate Inscription
H. P. Sastri, *JBORS*, IV, pp. 162-67 ; *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1376 ; S. N. Rajaguru, IO, I, pp. 241-47.

Bhauma-Kara Inscriptions

Śubhākara I

28. Neulpur Copper-plate Inscription
R. D. Banerji, *EI*, XV, pp. 1-8 ; B. Misra, *OUBK*, pp. 1-7.
29. Haṁseśvara Temple Inscription
D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 180-83.

Śivakara II

30. Chaurasi Copper-plate Inscription
N. Tripathi, *JBORS*, XIV, pp. 292-306 ; B. Misra, *OUBK*, pp. 8-9.
31. Chamunda Image Inscription of Vatsadevī
D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 184-85.

Śāntikara I

32. Ganeshgumpha Cave Inscription
R. D. Banerji, *EI*, XIII, p. 167 ; B. Misra, *OUBK*.

33. Dhauli Cave Inscription
    R. D. Banerji, *EI*, XIX, pp. 263-64 ; B. Misra, *OUBK*, p. 11.

Subhākara II

34. Terundia Copper-plate Inscription
    D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 211-16.

Śubhākara III

35. Hindol Copper-plate Inscription
    B. Misra, *JBORS*, XVI, pp. 69-83 ; *OUBK*, pp. 11-20.
36. Dharakota Copper-plate Inscription
    S. N. Rajaguru, *JAHRS*, IV, pp. 189-94 ; B. Misra, *OUBK*, pp. 21-22.

Tribhuvanamahādevī I

37 Dhenkanal Copper-plate Inscription
    H. P. Sastri, *JBORS*, II, pp. 419-27 ; B. Misra, *OUBK*, pp. 23-31.

Śubhākara IV

38. Talcher Copper-plate Inscription
    B. Misra, *OUBK*, pp. 32-39.

Śivakara III

39. Talcher Copper-plate Inscription
    B. Misra, *OUBK*, pp. 40-50.
40. Talcher Copper-plate Inscription
    B. Misra, *OUBK*, p. 51.

Pṛthvīmahādevī

41. Baud Copper-plate Inscription

Daṇḍīmahādevī

42. Kamurang Copper-plate Inscription
    H. Pandey, *JBORS*, V, pp. 564-77 ; B. Misra, *OUBK*,

43. Ganjam Copper-plate Inscription
    Kielhorn, *EI*, VI, pp. 140-42 ; B. Misra, O*UBK*, p. 59.
44. Ganjam Copper-plate Inscription
    Kielhorn, *EI*, VI, pp. 133-40 ; B. Misra, O*UBK*, pp. 61-67.
45. Santiragram Copper-plate Inscription
    EI, XXIX, pp. 79 ff.

Dharmamahādevī

46. Angul Copper-plate Inscription
    B. Misra, O*UBK*, pp. 52-56.
47. Taltali Copper-plate Inscription
    G. Das and K. C. Panigrahi, *IHQ*, XXI, pp. 213 ff.

Chapter IV

SOME MINOR DYNASTIES OF SOUTH KALIṄGA AND THE GAṄGAS OF KALIṄGANAGARA

The Rise of the Māṭharas, Pitṛbhaktas and Vāsiṣṭhas

As pointed out earlier, South Kaliṅga was divided into certain petty principalities at the time of Samudragupta's invasion. The political condition of this part of Orissa remained unaltered till the rise of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara by c. A.D. 498. At least three different houses of kings are known to have ruled for generations over this limited area, and there were frequent skirmishes among them. Of the three dynasties, the Māṭharas seem to have started first. They appear to have played a subordinate role in the early days of their rule till the rise of Śaktivarman, as proved by the absence of any royal title with reference to his predecessor Śaṅkaravarman. To start with the following table :

The Māṭharas

1. Śaṅkaravarman
   |
2. *Mahārāja* Śaktivarman
   |
   ├── 3. Anantavarman
   │ |
   │   5. *Mahārāja* Ananta Śaktivarman
   └── 4. *Mahārāja* Prabhañjanavarman

The Pitṛbhaktas

1. *Mahārāja* Umavarman
   |
2. *Mahārāja* Acaṇḍavarman
3. *Mahārāja* Nanda Prabhañjanavarman

The Vāsiṣṭhas

1. *Mahārāja* Guṇavarman
   |
2. *Mahārāja* Prabhañjanavarman
   |
3. *Parameśvara* Anantavarman

The following facts may be noted here :

First, the Māṭhara king Ananta Śaktivarman was a contemporary of the Pitṛbhakta king Umavarman, for, Mātṛvara appears as the writer of the Bṛhatprosṭha grant[1] of the latter and the Andhavarman plates[2] of the former ;

Secondly, the Vāsiṣṭha Prabhañjanavarman was a contemporary of the Pitṛbhakta Nanda Prabhañjanavarman, as implied by the palæographical peculiarities of the records of both the families.

The Genealogy and Chronology of these Rulers

The task of arranging these rulers in their respective dynastic order, as has been done above, is, however, beset with difficulty. S. N. Rajaguru[3] is of opinion that all of them belonged to the Māṭhara dynasty, which, as he further suggests, appeared on the scene as a minor ruling family even at the time of Samudragupta's South Indian expedition. N. K. Sahu[4] also maintains that the so-called Pitṛbhaktas, Māṭharas and Vāsiṣṭhas belonged to one and the same family. Both S. N. Rajaguru and N. K. Sahu seem to have propounded their theory chiefly on the basis of the following arguments :

First, most of the kings have *varman* as their name-endings;

Secondly, an inscription describes the so-called Māṭhara king Śaktivarman as a *Vāsiṣṭhīputra*, showing, according to them, that the Māṭharas and the Vāsiṣṭhas were identical ;

Thirdly, the Vāsiṣṭha king Prabhañjanavarman is held to be the same as the Pitṛbhakta Nanda Prabhañjanavarman.

None of the above arguments appears to be conclusive. The identical names and name-ending of these rulers need not necessarily be taken as sure proofs of their origin from the same family. Despite the similarity of name, the Pāla king Mahipāla I was certainly quite distinct from his namesake of the Pratīhāra dynasty, and the Pratīhāra Mahendrapāla cannot be regarded to be a scion of the Pāla royal house. It may be pointed out against the second argument that

although the Māṭhara Śaktivarman is called *Vāsiṣṭhīputra*, he is at the same time described as *Māṭhara-kula-candramasaḥ* (i.e., moon in the Māṭhara family). And lastly, the identification of Prabhañjanavarman with Nanda Prabhañjanavarman is based on the similarity of their names. The identification is invalidated by the fact that the seal of Anantavarman's records does not bear the word *Pitṛbhakta* like those of the characters of Nanda Prabhañjanavarman.

The epigraphic evidence, however implies that the Māṭharas, Pitṛbhaktas and Vāsiṣṭhas belonged to three different dynastics. To the Māṭhara dynasty belonged Śaṅkaravarman (*Māṭhara-kula-kīrti-vardhanakaraḥ*), Śaktivarman[5] (*Māṭhara-kul=ālaṅkariṣṇuḥ*), Ananta Śaktivarman (*Māṭhara-kul=ālaṅkariṣṇuḥ*) and Prabhañjanavarman (*Māṭhara-kula-kīrtivardhaṅkaraḥ*). Śaṅkaravarman was the earliest among the Māṭhara kings. He was followed by *Mahārāja* Śaktivarman, described in the Ningondi plates[6] as the son of Śaṅkaravarman. The relationship between *Mahārāja* Ananta Śaktivarman and Śaktivarman is, however, difficult to determine. M. Venkataramayya[7] maintains that he was in all probability of a grandson of Śaktivarman, and stresses upon the possibility of an Anantavarman intervening between them, 'it being assumed that the father's name is perhaps indicated in the double form Ananta-Śaktivarman, which is the appellation of the king of our grant, who was perhaps christened only as Śaktivarman after his grandfather.' This theory is based on the following arguments :

1. The majority of the characters employed in the records of Ananta Śaktivarman appear to be such developed as compared to those found in the Ragolu plates as to imply a margin by about a century.

2. The Andhavaram charter states that since the gift village had already been donated by *Āryaka* Śaktibhaṭṭāraka (*Āryaka-Śaktibhaṭṭāraka-pādaiḥ nānā-gotra-caraṇebhyo brāhmaṇebhyaḥ pūrvadatta ity=āsmābhir=api*), Ananta Śaktivarman simply granted it to the same Brāhmaṇa families. Although

the word *āryaka*[8] is generally used in the sense of a respectable one, 'yet in some inscriptional cases there is reason to interpret it as grandfather, much in the same way as *bappa* meant father'. It is thus evident that *Āryaka* Śaktibhaṭṭāraka was doubtless an ancestor, most probably the grandfather of Ananta Śaktivarman and identical with the *Kaliṅgādhipati* Śaktivarman of the Ragolu plates.

Although we do not rule out the possibility of such relations between these two rulers, we however, remain unconvinced about the soundness of the line of argument which pleads for a gap of about a century between them, particularly when we remember that it was the same Arjunadatta, the writer of the Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman, who had composed the Madras Museum plates[9] of Ananta Śaktivarman. While in the former grant he is called a *Amātya*, the latter record describes him as a *Deśapaṭalādhikṛta Talavara*, indicating thereby that Arjunadatta had been raised to a higher rank in the latter part of his life.[10]

An endeavour may now be made towards fixing the relations between Prabhañjanavarman, the penultimate Māṭhara king and Ananta Śaktivarman, the grandson of Śaktivarman and son of Anantavarman. The Ningondi grant speaks of Prabhañjanavarman as a son of Śaktivarman. It is thus quite likely that both Prabhañjanavarman and Anantavarman were sons of Śaktivarman. If, on the contrary, the existence of Anantavarman[11] is denied in the absence of any positive evidence, we may be justified in regarding Ananta Śaktivarman as the son and successor of Prabhañjanavarman.[12]

Three kings, viz., Umavarman, Acaṇḍavarman[13] and Nanda Prabhañjanavarman had *Pitṛbhaktaḥ* as the legend on their seals. Of these rulers Umavarman is known to us from the Tekkali[14], Dhavalapeta[15] and Bṛhatproṣṭha[16] copper-plate grants. It is a moot point whether these records refer to one and the same king or different kings of the same name. S. N. Rajaguru[17] and D. C. Sircar[18] propounded the theory of one Umavarman while R. K. Ghosal[19], M. Venkataramyya[20]

and others differentiate the donor of the first grant from his namesake of the other two records. The principal evidence on which the theory of the plurality of Umavarman is based is furnished by the striking disagreement between the seals of the two sets of plates. The seal of the Tekkali plate contains a single line legend, which is read as *Pitṛbhaktaḥ*, while those of the two other records bear a four line legend ending with the name of the donor in the genitive case.[21] But despite this marked discrepancy in the seals, the theory of one Umavarman seems to be more or less fairly certain, because the characters of all the inscription bear remarkable affinity to one another and all the records are engraved in the southern class of alphabet, and further, all the records come from a strictly restricted area. Although the Tekkali plates have been discovered from Ganjam district, the villages[22] mentioned therein are located in Visakhapatnam district wherefrom the other records[23] have been recovered.

Umavarman seems to have preceded the other known members of the house. As the characters of the Chicacole plates[24] of Nanda Prabhañjanavarman are later in date than those found in the other Pitṛbhakta records, we may safely consider Nanda Prabhañjanavarman as being later than the other members of the house. Of the other two rulers, Umavarman flourished earlier, as is indicated by his contemporaneity with Mātṛvara, the father of Rudradatta, who served as an official under Acaṇḍavarman. It may be noted here that scholars like K. P. Jayaswal[25], Sewell[26] and Hultzsch[27] are inclined to distinguish Acaṇḍavarman of the Bobbili plates[28] from his namesake of the Komarti plates and identify the latter with the Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* Acaṇḍavarman, the father of Nandivarman II. This theory cannot be accepted on the ground that the Komarti plates have been discovered from the neighbourhood of Narasannapeta in Srikakulam district and they were issued from Siṁhapura, while all the Śālaṅkāyana records were issued from Veṅgīpura, identified with modern Peddavegi near Ellora in Godavari district.

Further, Acaṇḍavarman of the Komarti plates describes himself as a *Kaliṅgādhipati*, whereas no Śālaṅkāyana ruler is known to have adopted any such title. The phraseology of the Komarti grant differs widely from that of the Śālaṅkāyana records.

The kings who belonged to the royal family of the Vāsiṣṭhas were *Mahārāja* Guṇavarman (*mahārāja-śrī-Guṇavarmaṇaḥ paramapautraḥ*), his son *Mahārāja* Prabhañjanavarman (*Vāsiṣṭha-kula-candramasaḥ śrī-mahārāja-Prabhañjana-varmaṇaḥ priya-putraḥ*) and the latter's son *Parameśvara* Anantavarman.

The Māṭhara Kings

As shown already, the Māṭhara dynasty appeared on the political scene of South Kaliṅga earlier than the other two royal houses. The history of the family begins with Śaṅkaravarman.[29] He is, however, not given any royal title like *Mahārāja* in the Ningondi grant of his grandson Prabhañjanavarman, which constitutes the unique document wherein his name finds mention. Śaṅkaravarman was followed by his son Śaktivarman, the first *Mahārāja* of the family. He issued in his thirteenth regnal year the Ragolu plates from Piṣṭapura, modern Pithapuram in Godavari district in order to register the grant of a village named Rākuluva, which is identified with Ragolu near Chicacole in Srikakulam district. The plates describe the king as the lord of Kaliṅga (*Kaliṅgādhipati*), and an ornament of the Māṭhara family. The Ningondi plates of his son do not describe him as a *Mahārāja*, but state that he ruled over the entire region lying between the rivers Kṛṣṇavennā (i.e., Kṛṣṇā) and Mahānadī, as if the inhabitants of this region were his own offspring (*Kṛṣṇavennā Mahānady-antaraṁ sv-aprajā dharmeṇ=ānuśāsinaḥ śrī-Śaktivarmaṇo*). But this statement is highly exaggerated and annulled by the fact that the Māṭhara kings had nothing to do with the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins of Veṅgī, who were in

occupation of some parts of the land between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godavari during this period.

Nothing is known about Anantavarman who intervened between Śaktivarman and Prabhañjanavarman. The last-named king is mentioned in the Ningondi grant which was issued by him from the victorious city of Siṁhapura. He is said to have been the increaser of the fame of the Māṭhara family, and the lord of the entire Kaliṅga country (*sakala-Kaliṅg=ādhipati*). It seems that during his reign the Māṭharas were expelled from the Godavari region by the rising power of the Śālaṅkāyana rulers of Veṅgī and moved towards the north, founding their capital at Siṁhapura, which continued to be the headquarters of the family till it was overthrown by the Pitṛbhakta kings. *Mahārāja* Ananta Śaktivarman is the last known king of the family and his known records are the Andhavaram plates[30] of the year 14 and Madras Museum plates[31] of the year 28. While the earlier record was issued from a military camp fixed at Vijayapura (*mahāhasty=aśva-skandhāvārād=Vijayapurād*), the latter one was issued from Siṁhapura. Ananta Śaktivarman ruled over the Srikakulam-Visakhapatnam area as is indicated by the location of the places, mentioned in his records.[32]

Ananta Śaktivarman could not reign in peace for long; for sometime after the 28th year of his reign he had to sustain a defeat at the hands of the Pitṛbhakta king Umavarman as a result of which the Māṭhara authority was overthrown. The epigraphic records of the last named king have been discovered from such places as Tekkali, Dhavalapeta and Palkonda taluk, all being originally included within the Māṭhara kingdom. The Bṛhatproṣṭha inscription, which was issued in his thirtieth regnal year, describes him as a *Kaliṅgādhipati*, and shows that he had set up his headquarters in the city of Siṁhapura, which was evidently conquered from his Māṭhara contemporary Ananta Śaktivarman.[33]

The Pitṛbhakta Kings

Umavarman was succeeded on the Pitṛbhakta throne by Acaṇḍavarman. D. C. Sircar's[34] suggestion that Acaṇḍavarman was probably the son and successor of Umavarman may be provisionally accepted, though corroborative evidence in this regard is lacking. He succeeded in keeping intact the kingdom, inherited from his predecessor, as may be gleaned from his Bobbili and Komarti plates, issued from Siṁhapura between Chicacole and Narasannapeta.

Nanda Prabhañjanavarman, the last ruler of the family, is known from the Chicacole and Baranga[35] plates both of which bestow on him the epithet of *sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati.* An idea about the extent of his kingdom may be obtained from his inscriptions. The Chicacole grant was issued from a place called Sārapallikā, described as *vijaya-vāsaka* which expression may suggest that it was the temporary residence of the king. There is little room for doubting the location of the place at modern Saripalle[36] in Vizianagram taluk of Visakhapatnam district, which doubtless formed an integral part of Nanda Prabhañjanavarman's kingdom. It might have stretched in the north far into Ganjam district as is indicated by the location of the village of Varaṅga, referred to in his second copper-plate grant, at modern Baranga of Chikati taluk. His Baranga plates further prove that the king reigned at least for a period of fifteen years. D. C. Sircar[37] observes, 'Although he is associated with the Pitṛbhaktas of Siṁhapura, it is tempting to suggest that his name indicates Prabhañjanavarman of the Nanda family, to which he may be related on the mother's side', but the existence of any Nanda dynasty flourishing in Orissa in the contemporary period has not yet been proved. History, no doubt, records some Nanda families ruling over different parts of Orissa like the Angul-Dhenkanal region and the Jeypore-Nandapur area of Koraput district, but they were of much later date.

The Vāsiṣṭhas

The rise of the Vāsiṣṭhas as a political power on the political stage of South Orissa synchronised with the reign of the Pitṛbhakta Nanda Prabhañjanavarman. *Mahārāja* Guṇavarman, the earliest member of the house, is described in the official records of the family as the ruler of Devarāṣṭra (*Devarāṣṭr=ādhipateḥ. . .śrī Guṇavarmaṇaḥ*), which Joveau Dubreuil[38] has located in Visakhapatnam district. He is further described as having acquired fame by victories in many stubornly fought battles (*aneka-samara-saṁghaṭana-vijay=ādhigata-yaśo*) and since he founded his principality in the heart of the Pitṛbhakta kingdom, it may be held that his adversary in these battles was no other than Nanda Prabhañjanavarman himself. Very little is known about Prabhañjanavarman who succeeded Guṇavarman on the throne. He is said to have enhanced the prosperity of the kingdom by the cultivation of the three elements of royal power[39] (*śakti-tray=opanata rājya-sampado*).

A new chapter opened in the history of the Vāsiṣṭhas with the assumption of power by *Parameśvara* Anantavarman of whom two copper-plate grants[40] (i.e., the Srungavarapukota and Śiripuram plates) have handed down to us. The provenance of, and the location of different places in, his epigraphic records would imply that he not only successfully maintained his paternal kingdom, but enhanced its limits also. Among the find-spots of his inscriptions Siripuram is situated near Chicacole in Srikakulam district, and Srungavarapukota in Visakhapatnam district. The Srungavarapukota plates record the grant of the village of Kiṇḍeppa in Tellavalli-*viṣaya*, which M. Narasinham[41] has identified with the old Jeypore zamindary, and R. C. Majumdar[42] with Tellagamudy near Srungavarapukota. The Siripuram plates were issued from Devapura[43] which reminds one either of Devada in Srungavarapukota taluk or Devadi in Chicacole taluk, and they record the grant of the village of Tontāpara which is probably represented by Totada in Chicacole taluk. The kingdom of

of Anantavarman thus in all probability was confined to the Visakhapatnam-Srikakulam region.

King Viśākhavarman

Notice may be taken of a king named Viśākhavarman who, to suggest from the palæography of his record, flourished at about this period. The Koroshanda inscription[44], which is the only record of his reign, registers the grant of the Tapoyaka village, situated in Korasoḍaka-pañcālī in his seventh regnal year for the religious merit of his departed father, who, as is evident from the absence of any royal epithet applied to him, was, in all probability, not a ruling chief. Viśākhavarman assumed the titles of *Paramadaivata, Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pādabhaktaḥ* and *Mahārāja* and ruled from his headquarters at Śrīpura wherefrom the Koroshanda copper-plate grant was issued (*vijaya-Śrīpurāt*). The place has rightly been identified by S. N. Rajaguru[45] with Vatiasripur in Parlakimedi taluk in Ganjam district, but the theory of its location at Siripuram in Srikakulam district, as suggested by G. Ramdas, is hardly tenable on the ground that the Srika-kulam region, which was the nucleus of Kaliṅga, lay beyond the horizon of his supremacy. The mention of Korasoḍaka-pañcālī, as forming a part of his kingdom, and its identifica-tion with Koroshanda in the neighbourhood of Parlakimedi are indicative of the fact that he ruled over a petty principa-lity, comprising Parlakimedi taluk. Some scholars[46] are inclined to associate him with the Māṭhara dynasty but there is no reliable evidence in support of his any such relation with the Māṭharas or any other ruler of the age.

The Rise of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara

Towards the close of the fifth century A.D. was founded in the region around the present Srikakulam district a new dynasty which was destined to play a conspicuous role in the

political history of Orissa for several centuries. This line of rulers is known as the Eastern Gaṅgas.[47] For the first few centuries of their existence the Eastern Gaṇgas remained a small power as their authority was confined to a very limited area. Later on, however, they extended their conquests to the neighbouring territories. The Gaṅga kings of the earlier epoch may be called the Early Gaṅgas, and the later members, the Imperial Gaṅgas.[48]

The Origin and Early History of the Gaṅgas

The inscriptions of the Early Gaṅgas are silent about the origin[49] of the family, but some light on the problem is thrown by a few imperial and Śvetaka Gaṅga records. The Visakhapatnam plates[50] of the Imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga state that Kolāhala, one of the ancestors of the king, founded the city of Kolāhalapura in Gaṅgavāḍi-*viṣaya*. The same inscription further records that Kāmārṇava, a distant descendant of Kolāhala, leaving Kolāhalapura with his brother, came to the Mahendra mountain, and having conquered Bāḷāditya through the favour of the god Gokarṇasvāmin, took possession of the Kaliṅga country[51]. The intimate connection of the Kaliṅga Gaṅgas with the same site is further borne out by other inscriptions. The Badakhimedi copper-plates[52] describe Indravarman as belonging to Kokalāvalapura (*Kokalāvalapura-pattanavinirgata*), while the Ganjam plates[53] call Pṛthivīvarman *Kolaulapura-pattanaka*. P. N. Bhattacharya[54] observes that the terms Kokalāvalapura, Kolāhalapura and Kolaulapura are synonyms and refer to Kolar in Mysore. S. N. Rajaguru[55] identifies Kolāhalapura with Kulada in Ghumsur taluk of Ganjam district, and suggests that the Ghumsur-Phulbani area was the homeland of the Gaṅgas. Since Kolāhalapura is said to have formed a part of Gaṅgavāḍi-*viṣaya*, its location in Mysore and identification with Kolar appear to be more or less certain. It may safely be presumed that the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga migrated from Kolar

in South India to Orissa where they founded settlements. We are, however, left in the dark regarding the details of their northward march.

The Gaṅga Era

The copper-plate grants of the Early Gaṅga rulers are dated in their family reckoning. Since the Jirjingi plates[56] contain the earliest reference to it, the reckoning may be suggested to have started during the reign of Indravarman I. The fixation of the Gaṅga era has become a controversial issue. Ramdas[57] advocates that the era was started in A.D. 349-50. Subba Rao[58], J. C. Ghosh[59], B. V. Krishnarao[60], V. V. Mirashi[61] and D. C. Sircar[62] fix the date in A.D. 494, 496, 497-98, 498 and 496-98 respectively. S. Sarma[63], R. C. Majumdar[64], R. D. Banerji[65], S. N. Rajaguru[66], Mazumdar[67] and G. S. Ojha propound the view that the era began in A.D. 504-5, 550-57, 741, 626, 772 and 570 respectively.

Of the above views, those which place the commencement of the Gaṅga era at any date from about the end of the fifth to the beginning of the sixth century A.D. may be said to be in agreement with the palæography of the Gaṅga inscriptions. This is corroborated by the combined evidence of the Santa Bommali and Mandasa plates of the Kadamba chief Dharmakheḍi, son of Bhīmakheḍi. The former grant, dated in the Gaṅga year 520, was issued during the reign of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman. The latter record is dated in *Śak=ābda nava-śataka-sapta-rasa-mata* during the reign of Anantavarman. While commenting on this expression R. C. Majumdar[68] observes, 'The words *sapta* and *rasa*, which actually occur in the record, undoubtedly mean seven and six, and it is more reasonable to take the date as 976 (A.D. 1054) or 967 (A.D. 1045)'. D. C. Sircar[69], on the other hand, has taken *sapta-rasa* to stand for Sanskrit *saptadaśa*, Prākṛt *sattarasa*, i.e., 17. The same view is also expressed by V. V. Mirashi.[70] The date of the Mandasa plates is, therefore, Śaka 917 (A.D.

995) according to the opinion of Sircar and Mirashi. It is admitted on all hands that Anantavarman of both the records is identical. R. C. Majumdar thinks that Devendravarman of these records is the same as the Gaṅga king of that name mentioned in the Madagram grant of Śaka 988 (A.D. 1066) and he further identifies him with the Imperial Gaṅga king Rājarāja I Devendravarman, son of Vajrahasta III Anantavarman and father of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. R. C. Majumdar's identification of Devendravarman of the Madagram grant with Rājarāja I Devendravarman cannot possibly be accepted. Vajrahasta III Anantavarman, as known from his records, was anointed on the 20th April, A.D. 1038. The records of Rājarāja I Devendravarman corroborate this, but they further state that Vajrahasta III reigned for a period of 33 years and that Rājarāja I was anointed on the 20th May, A.D. 1070. Thus Rājarāja I can hardly be identified with Devendravarman of the Madagram grant who was ruling in A.D. 1066. The latter king was evidently a scion of the Śvetaka branch.

While justifying the reading of the date of the Mandasa plates, R. C. Majumdar[71] observes, 'There was no king named Anantavarman ruling in the Gaṅga family in the Śaka 913 or 917, the assumed date for the Mandasa plates, nor any king called Devendravarman before Śaka 992, whereas, we have two kings, father and son, viz., Vajrahasta Anantavarman and Rājarāja Devendravarman, who ruled between Śaka 960 and 999 which would agree with the date Śaka 976 or 967 for Anantavarman.' It is difficult to agree with R. C. Majumdar. As indicated above, the Santa Bommali plates state that the Gaṅga king Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman, was ruling in the year 520. From the Chicacole plates we learn that Anantavarman's son *Mahārājādhirāja* Madhukāmārṇava was ruling in the year 526. The proximity of these two dates suggests that Devendravarma and Madhukāmārṇava were one and the same person. Anantavarman may be inentified with Vajrahasta II Aniyaṅkabhīma (c. A.D. 980-1015) who is known to have had a son named Madhukāmārṇava. The

identification of Vajrahasta II with Anantavarman is also implied by the Ponduru grant. This inscription, which is dated in the year 500, was issued by Vajrahasta, son of Kāmārṇava. As V. V. Mirashi[72] remarks, 'As this grant was made 20 years earlier than Dharmakheḍi's Simhipura grant of *Gn*. 520 which belongs to the reign of Anantavarman's son Devendravarman, it appears quite plausible that Anantavarman was another name of Vajrahasta (II).'

There is thus no difficulty in reading the date of the Mandasa plates as Śaka 917 or A.D. 995. The Mandasa plates, issued during the reign of Anantavarman were evidently a few years earlier in date than the Santa Bommali plates which were issued during the reign of his son Devendravarman. Madhukāmārṇava *alias* Devendravarman ascended the throne in A.D. 1019. The Śaka 917 i.e., A.D. 995 was at least 23 years earlier than the Gaṅga year 520. We may accordingly conclude that the Gaṅga era would not have been started before the beginning of A.D. 498.

The astronomical details, contained in the Gaṅga records, help us to be more precise on this point. The Ponnuturu plates[73] of the Gaṅga king Sāmantavarman record a gift by the king in the Gaṅga year 64 on the occasion of the *uttarāyaṇa* or *makara-saṁkrānti*. These plates were issued on the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Puṣya*. Relying on the natural presumption that the date of the gift made was earlier than the date of the plates, we may safely assume that *Puṣya śu. di.* 13 would be some days later than the date of the *uttarāyaṇa*. Assuming that the Gaṅga era started in A.D. 498, the Gaṅga year 64 will correspond to A.D. 562. Now, the *makara-saṁkrānti* in A.D. 562 occurred on the 20th December[74], while *Puṣya śu. di.* 13 corresponds to the 24th December. Thus the Ponnuturu plates do not conflict with the view that the initial year of the Gaṅga era synchronises with A.D. 498.

Reference has already been made to other theories which place the origin of this era in A.D. 494, 496, 497, 504, etc. The Gaṅga year 64 would correspond, according to these

epochs, to A.D. 558, 560, 561 and 568 respectively. The date of the *uttarāyaṇa* and the corresponding date of *Puṣya śu. di.* 13 in all these years may be shown in a tabular form :

	Uttarāyaṇa	*Puṣya śu. di.* 13
A.D. 558	20/12	9/12
A.D. 560	19/12	16/12
A.D. 561	19/12	5/12
A.D. 568	19/12	18/12

'In all these cases the *Uttarāyaṇa* or *Makara-saṁkrānti* occurred some days after *Puṣya śukla trayodaśī* and so the grant made on the occasion of the *saṁkrānti* could not have been recorded on that *tithi* in any of these years.' The Ponnuturu plates thus fix the beginning of the Gaṅga era in A.D. 498 and contradict the other epochs proposed for the era.[75]

The Dynastic History of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara & Śvetaka

R. Subba Rao[76] is of opinion that the history of the Early Gaṅgas begins with Mitavarman to whom he attributes the Tirlingi plate[77] which, according to him, is dated in the year 28. The Godavari grant[78] of *Rājā* Pṛthivīmūla mentions Mitavarman, but there is no conclusive evidence that he belonged to the Gaṅga dynasty. The view that he issued the Tirlingi plate does not rest on sure grounds, for, its date is doubtful and further, there is no reference to the king who issued it. S. N. Rajaguru[79] reads the date of the plate as *pravardhamānarājya-saṁvatsarasya-aṣṭāviṁśati*, meaning that the record was issued in the year 28 of the prosperous (i.e., Gaṅga) era. J. C. Ghosh[80] prefers the reading *aṣṭ=āśīti* to *aṣṭāviṁśati* and suggests that the record was issued during the reign of Indravarman II. There is an evidence in favour of the reading of J. C. Ghosh. The scribe of the present plate is Vinayacandra who is also the writer of all the Gaṅga charters hailing from the reign of Sāmantavarman to Indra-

varman II, whose last known date is the year 91. If the reading of the date of the Tirlingi inscription, as proposed by Rajaguru be accepted as correct, then we notice a break in the otherwise unbroken service of Vinayacandra, for the Gaṅga record of the year 39 was composed by Devasiṁha. But we do not face any such difficulty if the Tirlingi charter is placed in the year 88.

Indravarman I was the first king of the family and proud initiator of the Gaṅga era. It may be surmised on the basis of his Jirjingi inscription[81] that he reigned at least for a period of 39 years. He was the lord of the Tri-Kaliṅga country (*Tri-Kaliṅg=ādhipati*) and the sun in the firmament of the spotless Gaṅga family (*Gaṅg=āmalakula-gaganatala-sahasra-raśmiḥ*). It is held by some scholars[82] that the Godāvari plates of Pṛthivīmūla alludes to Indravarman I's victory over Indrabhaṭṭāraka. These plates state that Adhirāja Indra of the north-eastern region overthrew Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the south-western region. The latter has been identified by Fleet with the Eastern Cālukya king of that name who ruled for a week in A.D. 663 and was the younger brother of Jayasiṁha, and by others[83] with the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka whom D. C. Sircar[84] places in the period c. A.D. 590-A.D. 620. Indravaman I, who is known to have ended his rule by the thirties of the sixth century A.D. could hardly have been a contemporary of any of them.[85]

The next known ruler of the family is *Mahārāja* Mahāsāmantavarman who issued his Ponnuturu plates in the Gaṅga year 64 from Saumyavana, the abode of the goddess Jayaśrī (*Jayaśrī-nivāsāt Saumyavanād*). Like his predecessor, he assumed the title of *Tri-Kaliṅg=ādhipati*. The actual relationship between him and Indravarman I is obscure, but the nearness of time between them may suggest that the former was either a son or brother of the latter.[86] The Ponnuturu plates refer to his uncle Ādityarāja (*mām=Ādityarāja*) at whose behest the grant was issued.

Hastivarman is known to us from his two records, viz.,

the Narasingapalli plates[87] of the year 79 and Urlam plates[88], dated in the year 80. A resident in the city of Kaliṅga-nagara, he was a fervent worshipper of Maheśvara (*paramamā-heśvara*). He is said to have crushed the collection of his enemies by the strokes of the point of his scimitar (*maṇḍal=āgragraniṣpeṣa-niṣpiṣṭ=ārātisaṁhateḥ*). He is also called *Rājasiṁha* and *Raṇabhīta*. The title of Raṇabhīta, which, no doubt, sounds peculiar, was assumed by at least one member of the Śailodbhava dynasty. R. C. Majumdar[89] observes that the assumption of such a peculiar title by Hastivarman may not be totally unrelated to the rule of the Śailodbhava family, but we have no definite information in favour of any such relations between the two dynasties.

For the reign of Indravarman II we have the Achyuta-puram plates[90] of the year 87, Santa Bommali plates[91], dated in the year 87 and Parlakimedi plates[92] of the year 91, which, however, record vague and conventional praises about him. He is said to have acquired the sovereignty over the whole of Kaliṅga (*sv=āsidhārā-parispand=ādhigata sakala-Kaliṅg=ādhirājya*). A *Parama-māheśvara*, he bore the *biruda Rāja-siṁha*. D. C. Sircar[93] points out that he was a grandson of Indravarman and son of Hastivarman.

By the time when Indravarman II was ruling in the main Gaṅga kingdom, a minor branch of the family came into prominence under the stewardship of Jayavarman. Both the capital[94] (*Śvetak=ādhiṣṭhāna*) and kingdom (*Śvetak=ādhirājya*) of this line of rulers were called Śvetaka. Jayavarman is known from three inscriptions of which two have been recovered from Bedakhimedi and one from Ganjam. In one of his Badakhimedi plates[95], dated in the year 100, apparently of the Gaṅga era, he is simply called a *Rāṇaka*, whereas, he is described as a *Mahārāja* in other records. This shows that he began his career as a feudatory, possibly under the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara. One of his queens was named Tri-Kaliṅgamahādevī. This has led R. C. Majumdar[96] to suggest

that Tri-Kaliṅga was included within his kingdom, but we are not sure about this conclusion.[97]

All the Gaṅga grants from the year 128 to 154 mention king Indravarman as their donor. It is not clear whether they refer to one (Indravarman III) or two kings (Indravarman IV) of the same name, though the latter assumption appears to be more likely. The Chicacole plates[98] of the year 128, Andhavarman plates[99] of the year 133 and Chicacole plates[100] of the year 146 mention *Mahārāja* Indravarman, whereas, the Purle plates[101] of the year 149 or 137 and Tekkali plates[102] mention *Mahārāja* Indravarman as a son of śrī-Dānārṇava. It seems that Indravarman II had at least two sons, the name of one of whom is unknown, while his other son bore the name of Dānārṇava. Both of them named their sons after their father and predeceased him. Indravarman III succeeded his grandfather on the latter's death and reigned till the year 146. It was during the reign of Indravarman III that Hiuen Tsang visited Kaliṅga. The pilgrim is silent about the contemporary Gaṅga king of Kaliṅga, but says, 'It (i.e., the country) produces the great tawny wild elephants, which are much prized by neighbouring provinces. The climate is burning; the disposition of the people vehement and impetuous. Though the men are mostly rough and uncivilised, they still keep their word and are trustworthy'.[103] The absence of any reference to the contemporary Gaṅga ruler in Hiuen Tsang's accounts and his statement about Koṅgoda that 'the soldiers are brave and daring; they rule by force the neighbouring provinces, so that no one can resist them' may be taken to imply that the Gaṅga kingdom was temporarily under the Śailodbhava domination.[104]

The circumstances leading to the accession of Indravarman IV to throne are not known. According to Hultzsch the earliest charter of Indravarman IV is dated in the year 137 which falls within the reign of Indravarman III. If this is correct, the possibility of a fratricidal struggle and the ulti-

mate triumph of Indravarman IV cannot be ruled out. It is interesting to note that the Andhavaram plates of Indravarman III are dated in the augmenting years of the Tumburu family (*Tumburu-vaṁśa-rājya-saṁvatsa-rāṇāṁ*). Some scholars[105] opine that the use of this era in his own charter indicates Indravarman III's allegiance to the Tumburus. There is a stray reference to the Tumburus in the *Harivaṁśa*[106], which places them in the Vindhya forest. In the same Andhavaram plates mention is made of Lokārṇava who is described as the vanquisher of foes (*vijit=āneka-vidviṣaḥ*) and at whose command the charter was caused to be issued. In the absence of necessary information it is difficult to identify him at present. According to some[107], it is a *biruda* of Indravarman III himself.

During this time Sāmantavarman[108], whose name finds mention in the Pherava[109] and Dhanantara plates[110], was occupying the Śvetaka throne. His Dhanantara plates are not dated, while the date of the former record is a matter of controversy. Sarma reads the date as 185 while B. C. Chhabra[111] takes it as 165. It is interesting to note that while the Dhanantara plates refer to him as śrī-Sāmantavarmā and describe him as one 'who has the supremacy over the whole of Śvetaka, won by the strength of his own arms, he bears in his Pherava grant the epithets *Mahārāja* and the lord of the whole of Kaliṅga (*sakala-Kaliṅg=ādhipatir=Mahārājaḥ*) and is said to have won the supremacy over Kaliṅga by the strength of his own arms (*sva-bhujabala-parākraṁ=ākrānta-Kaliṅg=ādhirājyaḥ*). This probably indicates an eclipse in the fortune of the family during the early part of Sāmantavarman's reign and its subsequent revival. Another early member of the Śvetaka Gaṅgas is Indravarman, mentioned in the Gautami[112] and Vishamagiri piates[113], assigned palæographically to the eighth or ninth century A.D. The actual interval of time between the two kings cannot be precisely ascertained. Curiously enough, in both the Dhanantara and Gautami plates Padmacandra appears as the engraver. It

has been shown that it is 'extremely doubtful whether one and the same person is meant thereby, as the scripts of the two records exhibit so marked a difference in the style of writing that they cannot be taken to have been incised by an identical hand.'[114] The Śvetaka branch remained in power for a few centuries more even after Indravarman, but their later history is beyond the scope of our study.

The name of Devendravarman appears as the donor of the Chicacole[115], Dharmalingeswar[116], Tirlingi[117] and Siddhantam[118] plates, dated in the years 183, 184, 192 and 195 respectively. He is said to be born of Guṇārṇava (*śrī-Guṇārṇava-sūnuḥ*), who might have occupied the Gaṅga throne before him. Their relation with Indravarman IV is not known. We come to learn from the Dharmalingeswar plates that the king received his *mantra-dīkṣā* at the hands of his preceptor Pataṅga Śivācārya who was well-versed in the *Vedas*, *Vedāṅgas*, *Itihāsas*, *Purāṇas* and *Nyāya-vidyā*.

The Dharmalingeswar temple inscription of the year 204 tells us that Devendravarman was succeeded on the throne by his son Anantavarman (*Mahārājādhirāja-Devendravarmā-sūnuḥ*). Anantavarman describes himself as a *Mahārāja*, but he gives the higher designation of *Mahārājādhirāja* to his father, who is simply called a *Mahārāja* in his own records. We further learn from this record that Anantavarman had a younger brother named Jayavarman (*smad=bhrātrā śrī-Jaya-varmaṇā*), at whose instance the Dharmalingswar grant was made.[119] He has been identified by S. N. Chakravarti[120] with *Mahārāja* Jayavarman of a Ganjam record, and by D. R. Bhandarkar[121] with his namesake, mentioned in another inscription[122] from Ganjam.

Anantavarman, in his turn, was succeeded by his son Nandavarman, who issued the Santa Bommali copper-plate grant[123] in the year 221. G. Ramdas[124] has wrongly read the date as 323. Equally unconvincing is his suggestion that the name of the king may be read as Indravarman.[125] The Visakhapatnam[126] and Chicacole plates[127] refer to Devendravarman

(II) as the son of Anantavarman. The first record is dated in the Gaṅga year 254, and the second in (2)51.[128] King Nandavarman probably died childless and so the throne passed on to his younger brother. Devendravarman II made the Visakhapatnam grant at the advice of his maternal uncle Dharmakheḍi (*sva-mātula-śrī-Dharmakheḍinā*).

The next king was Rājendravarman I whom followed his son Anantavarman on the throne sometime before the year 284. His last known date, i.e., the year 304 is furnished by the Alamanda plates.[129] Anantavarman was succeeded by his younger brother Devendravarman III who issued the undated Bangalore[130], Musunika (year 306)[131], Chicacole (year 308) and Tekkali plates (year 310).[132] The Musunika grant describes him as a *Mahārāja* while his father Rājendravarman I receives in the same grant the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. This does not indicate that the Gaṅga kingdom suffered any diminution during his reign or that he was relegated to the rank of a feudatory. V. V. Mirashi[133], says, 'The drafters of the grant of this king do not appear to have been very careful in the use of these titles ; for we find that in the Chicacole plates Rājendravarman is called *Mahārāja*, and Devendravarman, *Mahārājādhirāja*. Again in the Tekkali plates both of them receive the same title *Mahārāja*, while in the Indian Museum plates Rājendravarman alone has the title of *Mahārāja* Devendravarman's name being mentioned with the simple honorific prefix *śrī*.'

Devendravarman III was succeeded by Rājendravarman II, son of his elder brother and predecessor Anantavarman, and of the queen Lokamahādevī. This king issued the Pattali[134] and Nampali grant as *yuvarāja* in the years 313 and 314 respectively, apparently during the reign of his uncle. We are not sure as regards the nature of their mutual relationship. When we remember that both the uncle and the nephew issued their charters from the same place we may provisionally suggest that thir relations were far from being cordial. Rājendra-

varman II reigned at least up to the year 342 when his Mandasa plates[135] were issued.

The next king was Satyavarman, son of Devendravarman III. He issued the Chicacole plates[136], dated in the G.E. 351. Anantavarman III, another son of Devendravarman III, next ascended the throne and issued the Tekkali (G.E. 358) plates.[137] In the Kalahandi plates[138], which are dated in the G.E. 383, mention is made of Anantavarman Vajrahasta, who should be distinguished from Anantavarman III, for Anantavarman Vajrahasta is said to have been a son of Bhūpendravarman. Bhūpendravarman is also known from the Chidivalasa (G E. 397)[139], Napitavataka[140] and Nirakarpur[141] grants, which describe him as the father of Devendravarman.[142] Thus Bhūpendravarman appears to have had at least two sons, viz., Anantavarman Vajrahasta and Devendravarman IV who ruled in succession.

The Chidivalasa plates tell us that Bhūpendravarman, also called Mārasiṁha, was born of Vajrin. Unfortunately, the position of Vajrin in the Gaṅga genealogy is not clear. S. Sarma opines that Vajrin, Vajrahasta of the Parlakimedi plates and Anantavarman of the Alamanda plates were one and the same person. Sarma identifies Vajrin with Vajrahasta of the Parlakimedi plates, but it is difficult to agree to his suggestion that he is also identical with Anantavarman of the Alamanda plates. It is equally plausible that Vajrin or Vajrahasta reigned somewhere between the years 358 and 383.[143]

The Chidivalasa plates represent Devendravarman, son of Bhūpendravarman, as 'a ruler without being under the command of anybody else.' (*kṣitīśo n=ānya-śāsanāt*). This may imply that during the reign of Bhūpendravarman the independent status of the family was temporarily eclipsed by some external power, probably the Eastern Cālukyas. As already observed, Devendravarman IV was ruling in the Gaṅga year 397. He is evidently to be identified with his namesake who is represented in the Galavalli plates[144], as the father of Manujendra or Manujendravarman. These plates describe

the father as a *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Pārameśvara* and *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and the son, who issued them in the G.E. 393, is represented as a simple *Mahārāja*. D. C. Sircar[145] thinks that Manujendravarman was a sub-king under his father during the latter's old age.[146]

The Rise of the Imperial Gaṅgas

The history of the Early Gaṅgas after Devendravarman IV is not definitely known. Vajrahasta, son of Kāmārṇava, appears to be the next known Gaṅga king during whose reign the Ponduru grant of the year 500 was issued. This Vajrahasta is evidently identical with the Imperial Gaṅga king Vajrahasta Aniyaṅkabhīma (son of Kāmārṇava) who probably reigned from A.D. 980 to A.D. 1015.[147] The rise of the Imperial Gaṅgas has, however, to be assigned to an earlier epoch. Their early records place the following members before him : Guṇamahārṇava, Vajrahasta (44 years), Guṇḍama (3 years), Kāmārṇava (35 years) and Vinayāditya (3 years). According to the later accounts, on the contrary, Vajrahasta Aniyaṅka-bhīma was preceded by the following rulers : Vīrasiṁha, Kāmārṇava I (36 years), Dānārṇava (40 years), Kāmārṇava II (50 years), Raṇārṇava (5 years), Vajrahasta (15 years), Kāmārṇava III (19 years), Guṇārṇava (27 years), Potāṁkuśa (15 years), Kaligalāṁkuśa (12 years), Guṇḍama (7 years), Kāmārṇava IV (25 years) and Vinayāditya (3 years). In the absence of any corroborative evidence it is difficult to decide whether the first seven kings of the second list were historical personages or not. Guṇārṇava of the second list is no doubt the same as Guṇamahārṇava of the earlier accounts and he may be regarded as the founder of the Imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅga family. His connection with the early branch cannot at present be determined.

REFERENCES

1. *EI*, XII, pp. 4ff; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 10-12.
2. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 175ff.
3. *IO*, I, pt. 2, p. iv.
4. Hunter, *The History of Orissa*, II, p. 337. N. K. Sahu (*UUHO*, I, p. 469) has subsequently suggested that the Māṭharas and the Vāsiṣṭhas were two distinct families of Kaliṅga and that the epithet *pitṛbhakta*, borne by a few contemporary kings, has no dynastic significance.
5. Hultzsch (*EI*, XII, p. 2), while editing the Ragolu plates, held Śaktivarman to be a scion of the Māgadha family, but the passage, mentioning the name of the king's family, should be read as *r=Mmāṭha(ra)*. No royal family of the name of Māgadha is known to have flourished in Kaliṅga.
6. *EI*, XXX, pp. 112ff.
7. Ibid, XXVIII, p. 237.
8. The term *āryaka* is used in different inscriptions to mean (i) a respectable man, (ii) father, or (iii) grandfather. That *āryaka* may be understood in the sense of grandfather appears clear from the evidence of the Nagarjunikonda Prākṛt inscription (*EI*, XX, p. 22) in which, to use the words of M. Venkataramayya (*EI*, XXVIII, p. 231), 'the words *āyaka* and *āyikā* are used to describe the relatives of the donatrix who mentions, besides, her *pitu*, *mātu*, *mātula*, etc. Evidently, *āyaka* and *āyikā* here meant grandfather and grandmother respectively.'
9. According to M. Venkataramayya (*EI*, XXVIII, p. 228) the plates are dated in the year 28, but the editor of the journal observes in a note at the same page that the symbol, read as 8, probably stands for 6.
10. The suggestion that *Talavara* Arjunadatta of Ananta Śaktivarman's grant was a grandson of *Amātya* Arjunadatta (*EI*, XXVIII, p. 234) is improbable.
11. *IO*, I, pt. 2, p. 72.

12. A hoard of copper coins, (*OHRJ*, V, pp. 157ff.) numbering 347 and bearing the name of a king called Nanda, has been discovered in 1953 from the village of Gandibedha in Balasore district. The obverse of these coins contains the legend *śrī-Nandasya* in box-headed characters of about the fifth century A.D., while the reverse depicts the figure of a lying bull or Nandi, indicating that the king was a *Māheśvara*. As the palæography of the coin-legend suggests a date in the fifth century A.D., S. N. Rajaguru (*IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 71-2) associates Nanda with the Māṭhara family.
13. Line 2 of the Komarti plates has *Mahārāj=Ācaṇḍavarmmā* which suggests that the correct name of the Pitṛbhakta king is not Caṇḍavarman, as is generally held, but Acaṇḍavarman. Hultzsch (*EI*, IV, pp. 142ff.), while editing these plates, erroneously read it as *Mahārājas=Caṇḍavarmmā*, apparently because Caṇḍavarman appeared to him a more suitable personal name than Acaṇḍavarman on the ground of Caṇḍa being a well-known designation of the god Śiva. But the Dharikatura grant (*EI*, XXXVI, pp. 1ff.), containing the passage *Yuvamahārāja-śrī-Acaṇḍavarmmā Dhārikaṭūre grāmeyakā*, clearly shows the prevalence of Acaṇḍavarman as a proper name in ancient India. D. C. Sircar (*EI*, XXXVI, p. 3), who is credited with the correct decipherment of the king's name, points out that the word *acaṇḍa* may mean an ascetic or a deity.
14. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 298ff ; *JAHRS*, VI, p. 53 ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 4-6.
15. *EI*, XXVI, pp. 132ff ; *JAHRS*, X, pp. 143-44 ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 7-9.
16. *EI*, XII, pp. 4ff ; *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 10-12.
17. *PIHC*, Session XX (1957), p. 94.
18. *CA*, p. 211.
19. *EI*, XXVI, p. 134.
20. Ibid, XXVIII, p. 300.

21. While adducing an argument in favour of his theory about the plurality of Umavarman, M. Venkataramayya (*EI*, XXVIII, p. 300) points out that the 'absence of the title *Kaliṅgādhipati* among the titles of Umavarman of the present charter (i.e., the Tekkali plates) may be considered another factor pointing to the same direction of their non-identity'. This argument is hardly logical. Those who subscribe to this view, are, however, unanimous in identifying the *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman of the Bṛhatproṣṭha grant with his namesake of the Dhavalapeta inscription, ignoring completely the fact that the latter record does not describe the king as the overlord of Kaliṅga. If the absence of any such title in the Dhavalapeta plates does not present any difficulty in identifying him with the king of the same name in the Bṛhatproṣṭha grant, we fail to understand how this can be treated to be a 'factor pointing to the same direction of their non-identity'.
22. The plates were issued from Vardhamānapura, identified with Vadama, situated in Palkonda taluk of Visakhapatnam district. Further, the scribe of these plates describes himself as a resident of Piṣṭapura, i.e., Pithapuram in East Godavari district. The village of Astivera is located in Atava in Sruṅgavarapukota taluk in Visakhapatnam district.
23. Dhavalapeta is situated about twelve miles from Chicacole in Visakhapatnam district, while the Bṛhatproṣṭha grant has been recovered from a smith in Palkonda taluk.
24. *IA*, XIII, pp. 48ff.
25. *History of India*, pp. 127ff.
26. *HISI*, p. 18.
27. *EI*, IV, pp. 142ff. While editing the Komarti plates Hultzsch observes, 'In two other respects, a connection may be established with the plates of the Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* Vijayanandivarman, who, (i) like Caṇḍavarman professes to have been devoted to the feet of the

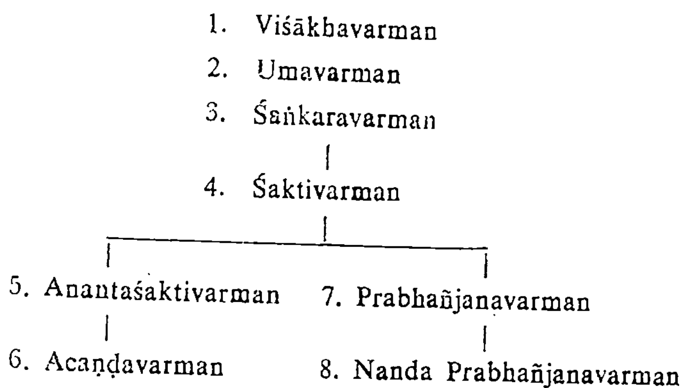
lord, (his) father (*bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhakta*), and who (ii) was the eldest son of the *Mahārāja* Caṇḍavarman. The close resemblance between the alphabet of the plates of Vijayanandivarman and the Komarti plates suggests that Caṇḍavarman, the father of Vijayanandivarman, may have been identical with the *Mahārāja* Caṇḍavarman who issued the Komarti plates.' Sircar supports Hultzsch's contention that the Komarti plates resemble closely the plates of Nandivarman II of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty and that 'the two Caṇḍavarmans must have belonged to the same period.' He, however, expresses his inability to go beyond that and points out that there are 'some serious points against the identification of the issuer of the Komarti plates with the Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* Caṇḍavarman.'

28. *EI*, XXVII, pp. 39ff.
29. S. C. Behera (*OHRJ*, XII, p. 59) surmises that the Māṭharas, who ruled in Kaliṅga, formed one branch of the dynasty founded in the Punjab by an eminent minister of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka. But this view is hardly founded on facts. The historicity of a minister named Māṭhara in Kaniṣka's court and the existence of a Māṭhara dynasty in the north-western part of India have not yet been conclusively proved.
30. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 175ff.
31. Ibid, pp. 226ff.
32. The Andhavaram plates record the grant of the village of Andoreppa, which is the same Andhavaram, a small village in Narasannapeta taluk of Srikakulam district. The Madras Museum plates mention the district of Varāhavartanī which scholars have located in Chicacole and Tekkali taluks (*EI*, XXVIII, p. 234). The place was so called presumably owing to profusion of boars and jackals.
33. S. N. Rajaguru (*IO*, I, pt. 2, p. 63) suggests that Umavarman's kingdom was bounded by the Mahendra moun-

tain in the north and the Nagavali in the south. That the kingdom of Umavarman was situated close to this famous mountain, if it did not actually include it, is indicated by the inclusion of Mahendrabhoga-*viṣaya* within it. The Kudopali plates (*EI*, IV, pp. 254-59) of the time of the Somavaṁśī king Mahābhavagupta II mention a feudatory chief, named Puñja who is said to be born in the Māṭhara family (*Maṭharavaṁś=odbhava-kulatilaka*) and ruling over fifteen villages (*pañcādaśa-pallik=ādhipati*). It is not improbable that some scions of the Māṭhara dynasty survived till the tenth or the eleventh century A.D. as subordinate rulers under the Somavaṁśīs.

34. *CA*, p. 212.
35. *IO*, I, pt. 2, pp. 78-80.
36. *EI*, XXVI, p. 301.
37. *CA*, p. 212.
38. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 60. The older generation of scholars identified Devarāṣṭra with Maharashtra, but to Dubreuil belongs the credit of first pointing out its correct location. Dubreuil has reached this conclusion, with the help of the Kasimkota plates which locate Elamañci Kaliṅgadeśa in Devarāṣṭra. Elamañci Kaliṅgadeṣa is taken to mean 'the Kaliṅga country of which Elamañci, i.e., modern Yellamanchili in Visakhapatnam district, was the chief town.'
39. These three elements are *prabhuśakti*, the majesty, *mantraśakti*, the power of good counsel, and *utsāhaśakti*, the power of energy.
40. *EI*, XXIII, pp. 56ff ; ibid, XXIV, pp. 47-52.
41. *JAHRS*, VIII, p. 157.
42. *EI*, XXIII, p. 59.
43. Ibid, XXIV, p. 50.
44. *JBORS*, XIV, pp. 282ff ; *EI*, XXI, pp. 23-25 ; *IO*, I, pp. 1-3.
45. *IO*, I, p. 3.

46. *UUHO*, I, p. 474. N. K. Sahu (ibid, p. 474) draws the genealogy of the Māṭhara kings of Kaliṅga as follows :—



B. V. Krishnarao (*A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa*, p. 394) opines that Viśākhavarman was the last known king of the Māṭhara dynasty.

47. The Gaṅgas of Orissa are called the Eastern Gaṅgas in contrast with the Gaṅgas of Mysore who are designated as the Western Gaṅgas.

48. Some scholars contend that the Early and Imperial Gaṅgas belonged to two distinct lines, because, the Early Gaṅgas used the Gaṅga era as well as short genealogies in their charters, while the later ones adopted the Śaka era and long genealogies. Notice may be taken of the following evidences which seem to show that they belonged to one and the same family. First, the names *Gāṅga* and *Gaṅga* are applied to the members of both the lines. Secondly, the kings of both the lines are known to have used the same suffixes, e.g., *-varman*, *-deva*, *-arṇava*, etc. Thirdly, most of the Imperial Gaṅgas, alike the Early Gaṅgas, worshipped Gokarṇeśvara of Mahendragiri, and finally, they adopted identical seals, e.g., lotus, crescent, bull, etc.

49. According to Subba Rao (*JAHRS*, V, p. 264) they were a northern tribe who lived in the Gangetic delta at the dawn of their history. This contention is not in agreement with the epigraphic evidence.
50. *JAHRS*, I, pp. 113ff; *IA*, XVIII, pp. 165ff; *OHRJ*, V, p. 7.
51. *DHNI*, pp. 448-49.
52. *EI*, XXIII, pp. 78ff.
53. Ibid, IV, pp. 198ff.
54. Ibid, XXIII, p. 79.
55. *IO*, II, pp. 343-45; *History of the Gaṅgas*, pt. I, p. 192.
56. *JAHRS*, III, pp. 49-53.
57. *JBORS*, XVIII, pp. 291ff.
58. *JAHRS*, V, pp. 267ff.
59. *IA*, LXI, pp. 237ff.
60. *JAHRS*, XI, pp. 19ff.
61. *EI*, XXVI, pp. 326ff.
62. *IE*, pp. 287ff.
63. *IC*, IX, pp. 141ff.
64. Ibid, IV, pp. 179ff; *EI*, XXXI, pp. 46ff.
65. *HO*, I, p. 239.
66. *IO*, II, Appendix I.
67. *JBORS*, XI, pp. 361ff.
68. *EI*, XXI, p. 46.
69. Ibid, XXXI, p. 53.
70. Ibid, XXVI, p. 335.
71. *EI*, XXXI, p. 46.
72. *EI*, XXVI, p. 335.
73. Ibid, XXVII, pp. 216ff.
74. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 171.
75. V. V. Mirashi, (*EI*, XXVI, p. 336) is inclined to believe that the Gaṅga era commemorates the termination of the Vākāṭaka rule in Kaliṅga. There is no conclusive evidence to prove that any Vākāṭaka king had ever conquered Kaliṅga. The initial year of the Gaṅga era

synchronises with the first year of Indravarman I's reign.

76. *JAHRS*, VI, p. 71.

77. Ibid, III, pp. 54ff. G. Ramdas (*OHRJ*, VI, p. 253) dismisses the record as spurious.

78. *JBBRAS*, XVI, pp. 114ff ; *SS*, pp. 113ff.

79. *IO*, II, p. 2.

80. *JBORS*, XX, p. 44.

81. *JAHRS*, III, pp. 49-53.

82. *JAHRS*, VI, pp. 71ff.

83. *EI*, IV, p. 195. The identification of Indrabhaṭṭāraka with the Cālukya Indrarāja is opposed on the ground that the script of the Godavari grant is earlier than that of Jayasiṁha's grants.

84. *CA*, p. 210. D. C. Sircar (*SS*, p. 112) was formerly of opinion that Indrabhaṭṭāraka flourished in the period c. A.D. 625-655.

85. Fleet at first proposed to identify him with Indravarman III of the years 128 and 146, but later on he reversed his opinion in favour of Indravarman II of the year 91 (*IA*, XVI, p. 131). V. V. Mirashi (*EI*, XXII, p. 21) surmises that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka was ruling from c. A.D. 570 to 600, and, accordingly, equates Indra with Indravarman II. Those who identify him with Indravarman I rely mainly on the statement of the Jirjingi grant that the Gaṅga king defeated his foes with the help of his four-tusked elephants (*aneka-cāturdanta-samara-vijaya-vimala-vikośa-nistriṁśa*). This description is conventional as it occurs in the inscriptions of many a king of different dynasties (*EI*, XXII, p. 95 ; ibid, XXV, p. 30 ; IA, XVIII, p. 267). It is highly improbable that a Gaṅga Indravarman is mentioned in the Godavari charter. Adhirāja Indra was the son of the Brahmin Mitavarman of non-monarchial rank and as such his identification with either

Indravarman II or Indravarman III is wide of the mark.

86. D. R. Bhandarkar (*EI*, XXIII, p. 386) places Sāmantavarman between Satyavarman and Vajri or Vajrahasta.
87. *EI*, XXIII, pp. 62ff.
88. Ibid, XVII, pp. 330ff.
89. Ibid, XXIII, p. 64.
90. Ibid, III, pp. 127ff.
91. *JAHRS*, IV, pp. 21ff ; *EI*, XXV, pp. 194ff.
92. *IA*, XVI, pp. 131ff.
93. *CA*, p. 216.
94. The identification of the capital city of Śvetaka, which is also called Śceṭaka in some of the royal charters, forms a subject of controversy among scholars. Subba Rao (*JAHRS*, III, p. 184) identifies it with the modern village of Srikurmam ; S. Sarma, N. K. Sahu (*UUHO*, I, p. 114) and others locate it at the present site of Chikati (Chikiti) in Ganjam district, whereas R. C. Majumdar (*EI*, XXVII, p. 112) equates it with Saḍaka in the neighbourhood of Chikati.
95. *EI*, XXIII, pp. 261ff ; ibid, pp. 267ff.
96. Ibid, XXVII, p. 111.
97. Ibid, XXVIII, p. 335.
98. *IA*, XIII, pp. 120ff.
99. *EI*, XXX, pp. 37ff.
100. *IA*, XIII, pp. 122ff.
101. *EI*, XVIII, pp. 308ff.
102. Ibid, pp. 307ff.
103. Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, II, pp. 207-8.
104. The Aihole inscription describes how Pulakeśin II humbled the Kaliṅgas with ease before A.D. 634-5 when the *praśasti* was composed. So it is equally likely that the Gaṅga dominions were under the Cālukya rule during this period.
105. *EI*, XXX, p. 39.

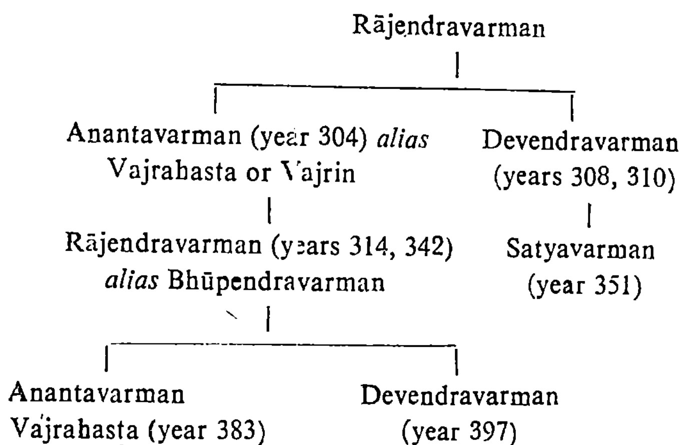
106. V, 22.
107. *EI*, XXX, p. 39.
108. Both R. C. Majumdar (*EI*, XXVII, p. 111) and B. C. Chhabra (Ibid, XXIV, p. 132) are inclined to regard Sāmantavarman as the founder of the Śvetaka branch on the ground that the alphabet of Sāmantavarman's grants is the earliest in the series of the Śvetaka records. Such a contention is contradicted by the evidence of the Ganjam record of the year 120.
109. *EI*, XXVII, pp. 108ff.
110. Ibid, XV, p. 275.
111. Ibid, XXIV, p. 132.
112. Ibid, pp. 180ff.
113. Ibid, XIX, pp. 134ff.
114. *EI*, XXIV, p. 180.
115. Ibid, III, pp. 130ff.
116. *JAHRS*, II, pp. 275ff ; *EI*, XXVI, pp. 62ff.
117. *IHQ*, XI, pp. 300ff ; ibid, XX, pp. 232ff.
118. *EI*, XIII, pp. 212ff.
119. The *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1918-19 (p. 14) reports the discovery of another grant of Anantavarman, son of Devendravarman. This record is probably not a genuine one.
120. *EI*, XXIII, p. 261.
121. *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 86.
122. *IHQ*, XII, pp. 491ff.
123. *JAHRS*, II, pp. 185ff.
124. Ibid, III, p. 77.
125. Ibid, p. 84.
126. *IA*, XIII, pp. 143ff.
127. Ibid, X, pp. 343ff.
128. S. N. Rajaguru (*IO*, II, pp. 146-7) reads the date of the Chicacole plates as 351. It is difficult to agree to this reading. Satyavarman, son of Devendravarman, was ruling in the Gaṅga year 351. We would, therefore, be hardly justified in placing Devendravarman of the

Chicacole plates in the same year when Satyavarman was ruling.

129. *EI*, III, pp. 17ff.
130. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IX, p. 140.
131. *EI*, XXX, pp. 23ff.
132. Ibid, XVIII, pp. 311-13.
133. *EI*, XXX, p. 25.
134. Ibid, XXXII, pp. 201ff.
135. *IO*, II, pp. 137ff.
136. *IA*, XIV, pp. 10ff.
137. *EI*, XXVI, pp. 174ff.
138. Ibid, XXXI, pp. 317ff.
139. *JAHRS*, II, pp. 146-68; *JAS*, Letters, XVIII, pp. 78ff.
140. *IO*, II, pp. 202-05.
141. *JBRS*, XXXV, pp. 1ff; *IO*, II, pp. 197ff.
142. The donor of the Nirakarpur plates was Udayakhedi, son of Ugrakheḍi, and grandson of Dharmakheḍi of the Kadamba family, which owed allegiance to the Gaṅgas. The Kadambas are mentioned in several other grants. The Parlakimedi plates of Vajrahasta mention one Ugrakheḍi as the ornament of the Kadamba family who may be identified with the father of Udayakheḍi. P. Banerji (*EI*, XXXI, p. 319) makes the following observations on the Kadambas: 'One Dharmakheḍi and his father Bhīmakheḍi are mentioned in the Santabommali plates of the Gaṅga year 520 and the Mandasa plates of the Śaka year 976. A Kadamba chieftain of the name of Dharmakheḍi is also mentioned in the Vizagapatam plates of Devendravarman of the Gaṅga year 254. The Kambakaya plates of Śaka 1103 also refer to the Kadamba chiefs named Dharmakheḍi and Udayāditya. From the widely separated dates of these inscriptions, it is reasonable to hold that, though some of these Kadamba chieftains bear the same names, they are not to be considered as iden-

tical because of the indentity of their names alone, but should be placed in different periods.' The Kadambas may be supposed to have hailed from Khed taluk of Ratnagiri district, mentioned as Kheṭahāra-deśa in the Goa grant of Pulakeśin II (*JAHRS*, IV, p. 116).

143. Sarma proposes the following genealogy of the later members of the Early Gaṅga family :



This genealogical scheme appears to be defective. Sarma identifies Bhūpendravarman with Rājendravarman of the Mandasa plates of the year 342 on the ground that Rajendra and Bhūpendra are synonyms, but this is not convincing. We learn from the Chidivalasa plates that Bhūpendra was also named as Mārasiṁha, but in no inscription, discovered so far, he is called Rājendra.

144. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 187ff.

145. Ibid, p. 181.

146. In an undated charter from Chicacole (*JAS*, *Letters*, XVIII, pp. 47ff.) mention is made of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Anantavarman, whose identification is difficult to determine. The palæography of his record,

as well as his titles indicate that he could not have flourished before the end of the ninth century A.D. He may be identified with either Anantavarman of the Tekkali plates of the Gaṅga year 358 or with an as yet unknown son and successor of Devendravarman IV, as D. C. Sircar would make us believe (*JAS, Letters*, XVIII, p. 48).

147. *AIK*, p. 142.

Appendix A

THE NALAS

Sources

It was about the latter half of the fifth century A.D. that the Nalas had been exercising their sway over Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh and Koraput district of Orissa, our knowledge about them being mostly derived from the Rithapur copper-plate grant[1] of Bhavadattavarman, Kesaribeda plates[2] of Arthapati, Podagadh stone inscription[3] of Skandavarman, as well as a hoard of gold coins, discovered at Edenga,[4] a village in Kondegaon tahsil of Bastar district.[5]

Varāharāja

The history of the Nala dynasty seems to have begun with Varāharāja, known to us from the Edenga hoard of coins, comprising the gold money of Varāharāja himself, Bhavadatta and Arthapati. The characters of the coins, which are of the box-headed variety of the fifth century A.D. imply that the coins of Varāha are the earliest and those of Arthapati, the lattest in the series. The appearance of the figure of a couchant bull on the obverse of his coins may be an indication in favour of his Śaivite affiliation, while the large number and varieties of coins, struck by him, clearly demonstrate that he was an independent sovereign with a protracted and prosperous reign.

Bhavadatta

Bhavadatta, who is mentioned as such in the Podagadh stone inscription of his son Skandavarman, but called Bhavattavarman in his own copper plate grant, appears to

have succeeded Varāharāja, who was in all probability his father. Bhavattavarman is evidently a distorted or a Prakritised form of *Bhavadattavarman*. Y. R. Gupta,[6] on the basis of the Rithapur grant, suggests that he was further known as Arthapati, 'the lord of wealth', but there is hardly any evidence in support of this contention. The inscription, which is dated in the eleventh year of Bhavadatta's reign, records the donation of the village Kadambagiri by the king for the 'blessings of himself and his queen'. The concluding portion of the record mentions *Mahārāja* Arthapati who is said to have executed the charter for the increase of the religious merit of his parents (*Mahārāj=Ārthapatibhaṭṭārakena ātmanaḥ mātāpitroḥ puṇyakīrti-vardhana*). If Arthapati is taken to be an epithet of Bhavadatta himself, then it would be difficult to explain why Bhavadatta would proclaim in the early part of the record that the gift was made for the blessings of himself and his queen and in the latter part of it that it was intended for the augmentation of the religious merit of his parents. This would accordingly show that Arthapati was different from Bhavadatta.

An idea about the extent of Bhavadatta's kingdom may be obtained with the help of inscriptions. The Rithapur copper plates, discovered from Amraoti district in Madhya Pradesh, were issued from Nandivardhana (*Nandivardhanāt*) which has been identified with Nagardhan near Ramtek in Nagpur district by Hiralal,[7] and with Nandur in Yeotmal taluq of Berar by Y. R. Gupte.[8] It is the same place which, for sometime remained to be the Vākāṭaka capital, wherefrom the Poona plates[9] of Prabhāvatīguptā and a few grants of Pravarasena II were issued. The occupation of this important place in Berar in the heart of the Vākāṭaka kingdom shows Bhavadatta's victory over his western neighbours. Bhavadatta's triumphant advance across the Vākāṭaka dominions seems to be corroborated by the Balaghat plates[10] which credit the Vākāṭaka king Pṛthivīṣeṇa II (c. A.D. 470-90) with the restoration of the sunken fortune of the family. V. V.

Mirashi[11] rightly finds here a reference to an invasion led by Bhavadatta during the reign of Pṛthivīṣeṇa's father Narendrasena. The use of the expression *apahṛta-vaṁśa-śriyaḥ*, 'who carried away the fortune of his own family' in the Balaghat grant with reference to Narendrasena suggests that the fortune of the Vākāṭaka family for a time during his reign, passed into the hands of one who was not the rightful heir. This likewise corroborates the Nala occupation of a large part of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. It is worth noting that the Rithapur grant was made during the time of Bhavadatta's stay at Prayāga at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. It, however, does not necessarily follow that the Nala kingdom extended to Prayāga in the north, for, 'grants of distant villages were often made at exceptionally holy places like it or Banares'.[12] He would have gone there either on pilgrimage or in connection with his marriage with a princess of Allahabad.[13] It may be reasonably surmised that Bhavadatta ruled over an extensive tract which stretched from Berar to Koraput district.

In the Rithapur plates is found the expression *Maheśvara-Mahāsen=ātisṛṣṭa-rājya-vibhavaḥ* as a descriptive epithet of Bhavadatta, the meaning of which is far from being certain. Ramdas[14] takes the expression to mean one 'who has created the supreme authority of administration of the kingdom with (such officers as) Maheśvara and Mahāsena'. This is hardly compatible on the ground that Ramdas has erroneously taken the term *atisṛṣṭa*, 'bestowed', as equivalent to *sṛṣṭa*, 'created'. V. V. Mirashi[15] points out that the expression should be taken to mean that Bhavadatta obtained his kingdom and wealth through the grace of the great lord Mahāsena, the generalissimo of the gods (*Maheśvareṇa Mahāsenena atisṛṣṭaṁ rājyaṁ yasmai tasya*). D. C. Sircar[16] interprets Maheśvara and Mahāsena as referring to two distinct deities, taking the expression to mean that either Bhavadatta obtained royal fortune through the grace of these gods or that his kingdom was dedicated to them by him. Similar expressions indicating the belief that

the particular royal family was created and protected by a certain deity are found in the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, Cālukyas and many other royal houses also.[17]

Arthapati

Bhavadatta seems to have been succeeded by his son Arthapati, as may be gleaned from the use of the term *āryaka* as an epithet of the former in the Rithapur plates (*āryakapāda-prasād=ānugṛhītena*). Some scholars have taken this word in the sense of grandfather but this is contradicted by the internal evidence of the grant.[18] D. C. Sircar[19] is of opinion that Arthapati flourished after Skandavarman who was most probably his father. This view is based on the supposition that since his Kesaribeda (in Umarkot thana of Koraput district) record[20] was issued from Puṣkarī, he must have followed Skandavarman who repopulated the city, but this line of argument is not convincing. That Arthapati preceded Skandavarman, who was in all probability his younger brother, may be suggested on the following grounds :

First, both the Rithapur and Kesaribeda plates were written by the same Confidential Officer (*Rahasyādhikṛta*) named Culla, whereas, the Podagadh stone inscription of Skandavarman was composed by Janturadāsa, the son of Cauli, identified with Culla.

Secondly, the Edenga hoard contains the coins of Bhavadatta and Arthapati but those of Skandavarman are conspicuously absent. Had Skandavarman preceded Arthapati, his coins would probably have been found along with those of the other two rulers.

Arthapati inherited a vast kingdom from his father, but he, unfortunately, proved himself unequal to the task that faced him. Bhavadatta, as we have already seen, launched a successful military expedition into the heart of the Vākāṭaka kingdom, as a result of which a large part of Vidarbha came to be annexed to the Naḷa dominions. But the Vākāṭakas soon

retrieved their position and Pṛthivīṣeṇa II, son and successor of Narendrasena, soon appeared on the scene to avenge himself of the humiliation of his father. The fact that Arthapati's Kesaribeda inscription was issued from Puṣkarī, instead of Nandivardhana, clearly shows that Arthapati relinquished his hold over Vidarbha and was impelled to retire to a small principality in Bastar and Koraput districts. The opponent at whose hands he sustained a reverse was no other than the Vākāṭaka Pṛthivīṣeṇa II who is said in the Balaghat plates to have restored the tottering fortune of his family, evidently by expelling Arthapati from Vidarbha.[21] The ambitious Vākāṭaka king did not remain satisfied with the reoccupation of Vidarbha but appears to have besieged Puṣkarī and stormed it sometime after the seventh year of Arthapati's reign.

Skandavarman

The reign of Skandavarman[22], the noble son of Bhavadatta and younger brother of Arthapati, saw, to some extent, the revival of Nala glory. We come to learn from the Podagadh inscription that he reclaimed the lost royal fortune which had fallen into the hands of adversaries and repeopled the capital Puṣkarī[23] (*śrī-Nal-ānvaya-mukhyasya vikrama-kṣapitadviṣaḥ nṛpater = Bhavadattasya satputreṇ = ānyasaṁsthitāṁ || bhraṣṭām = ākṛṣya rājārdhiṁ sunyām = āvāsya Puṣkarīṁ |*). It appears that Skandavarman established himself, at least for a brief spell of period, in the ancestral kingdom by hurling back the invading Vākāṭakas. The Ajanta inscription informs us that Hariṣeṇa (c. A.D. 475-510)[24] of the Basim branch of the Vākāṭaka family extended his suzerainty over Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Trikula, Lāṭa and Andhra, thereby implying that the Nalas either during the reign of Skandavarman or shortly afterwards, suffered a signal defeat at his hands.

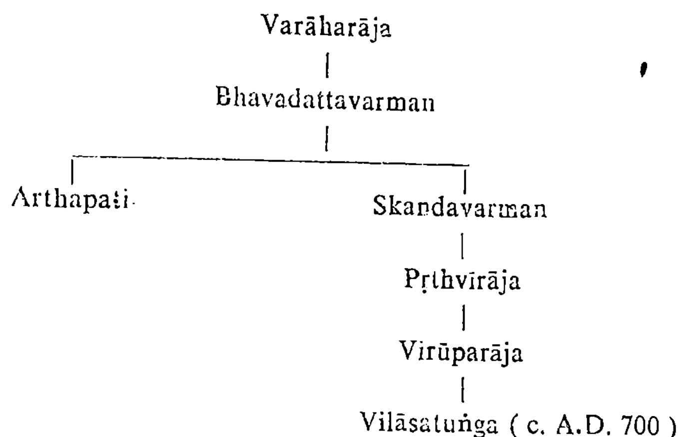
The Later Nalas

Notwithstanding their reverses, the Nalas appear to have

continued to reign for some generations after Skandavarman, as is shown by the famous Aihole epigraph which extols the Cālukya king Kīrtivarman I (A.D. 567-97) as the night of destruction to the Nalas.[25] The statement about the total annihilation of the Nala power, as met with in the Cālukya record, need not be taken in its literal sense, for a statement of similar kind is made with reference to the Mauryas of North Konkan, but the Aihole inscription elsewhere states that the Mauryas were finally overthrown by Pulakeśin II. An inscription[26], incised on a slab of stone, built into the wall of the temple of Rājīvalocana at Rajim in Raipur district, Madhya Pradesh mentions three kings, viz., Pṛthvīrāja, Virūparāja and Vilāsatuṅga, as born in the family of Nala. The inscription is not dated, but is placed, on palæographic grounds, at about the middle of the 8th century by D. R. Bhandarkar.[27] But its characters being similar to those of the Lakṣmaṇa temple inscription of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, it may not be wrong to assign the record to c. A.D. 700. These kings may, therefore, be legitimately regarded as later descendants of Bhavadatta and Arthapati. It is interesting to note that from about the second half of the sixth century the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings were the supreme masters of South Kosala till they were defeated by the Cālukya king Pulakeśin II sometime before A.D. 634, the date of issue of the Aihole inscription. Pṛthvīrāja grasped the opportunity of this political catastrophe to set up an independent principality.

The Genealogy of Nalas

The genealogy of the Nala kings, as is evident from the above discussion, may be presented as follows :—



REFERENCES

1. *EI*, XIX, pp. 100ff ; *IO*, I, pp. 89-93.
2. Ibid, XXVIII, pp. 12-17 ; *IO*, I, pp. 86-88.
3. Ibid, XXI, pp. 153 ff ; *IO*, I, pp. 94-97.
4. *JNSI*, I, pp. 29ff. ; *SI*, III, pp. 97ff.
5. The Nalas are mentioned in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* as kings of Kosala, which is, no doubt, the same as *Dakṣiṇa* Kosala (*DKA*, p. 51).
6. *EI*, XIX, p. 101.
7. *EI*, IX, p. 43.
8. *EI*, XIX, p. 102.
9. *EI*, XV, pp. 41ff.
10. *EI*, IX, p. 271.
11. *SI*, III, p. 104.
12. *EI*, XIX, p. 102.
13. *CA*, p. 188.
14. *SI*, I, p. 192.
15. *SI*, I, pp. 192-93.
16. *CA*, p. 188.
17. The suggestion of P. L. Mishra (*IHQ*, XXXVII, pp. 2-40)

that king Mahendra of the Allahabad inscription, identified by him with Mahendrāditya of the Khairtal hoard of gold coins, was an ancestor of Bhavadattavarman is unwarranted, for Mahendrāditya of the Khairtal hoard is no other than the Imperial Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I, and secondly, there is no evidence in support of any relations of Mahendra with the Nalas.

18. *SI*, I, p. 190.
19. *CA*, p. 189.
20. *JBRS*, XXXIV, pp. 32ff ; *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 12-17. Ramdas reads the date of the inscription, which is represented by a symbol, as 58 and R. C. Majumdar reads it as 100, 6 or 8. But both D. C. Sircar and V. V. Mirashi (*SI*, I, p. 190, *EI*, XXVI, p. 17) have interpreted the symbol, on the basis of its close resemblance to that denoting 7 in the Abhon plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa, as standing for 7.
21. *EI*, XXVI, p. 52 The identity of the invader of Puṣkarī with the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Nanna, as upheld by some scholars appears to be untenable.
22. The name of Skandavarman, appearing at the end of line 5 of the Podagadh stone inscription is, partly mutilated. It has been generally read as Skandavarman. V. V. Mirashi (*EI*, XXVI, p. 52) suggests the reading *śrī-Arthavarmaṇa* in place of *śrī-Skandavarmaṇa*.
23. *EI*, XXI, p. 155.
24. *EHD*, I, p. 187.
25. *EI*, VI, p. 4.
26. *EI*, XXVI, pp. 49.
27. *PRAS*, WI. for 1903-04, p. 48.

LIST OF NALA INSCRIPTIONS

Bhavadattavarman

1.	Rithapur Copper Plates	Y. R. Gupta, *EI*, XIX, pp. 100-04 ; S. N. Rajaguru, *IO*, I, pp. 89-93.

	Arthapati	
2.	Kesaribeda Copper Plates	R. C. Majumdar, *JBRS*, XXXIV, pp. 33-42; D. C. Sircar, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 12-16; S. N. Rajaguru, *IO*, I, pp. 86-88.
	Skandavarman	
3.	Podagadh Stone Inscription	C. R. Krishnamacharlu, *EI*, XXI, pp. 153-57 S. N. Rajaguru, *IO*, I, pp. 94-97.
	Vilāsatuṅga	
4.	Rajim Stone Inscription	V. V. Mirashi, *EI*, XXVI, pp. 49-58; S. N. Rajaguru, *IO*, I, pp. 98-102.

Appendix B

THE EARLY COINS OF ORISSA

Punch-Marked Coins

The history of the coinage in Orissa, as in all other parts of the country, begins with the so-called punch-marked coins, which have been unearthed from different places like Sonepur[1] in Bolangir district, Bahalda and Jagmara in Mayurbhanj district, and Jharpada[2] and Sisupalgarh in Puri district. To determine the relative or absolute chronology of these coins[3] is, it must be admitted, a difficult task, but some of them, particularly the thin silver pieces of the Sonepur hoard, identified by V. S. Agrawala[4] with the *Sāṇa* coins of early Indian texts, having a combination of four symbols[5] and weighing between 19.8 and 21 grains[6], have been traced back, by competent authorities on the subject, to the period of the Mahājanapadas, anterior to c. B.C. 600.[7] The discovery of a few coins of this class in a strata of Sisupalgarh, assignable to c. A.D. 250-A.D. 350, would tend to prove that they were in circulation in Orissa as late as the middle of the fourth century A.D.[8] Silver, copper as well as lead are known to have been employed for the manufucture of these coins. Lead punch-marked coins are conspicuous by their absence in the earlier levels of Sisupalgarh, which have yielded silver and copper coins[9], implying thereby that lead currency was more popular at the place, as compared to the silver and copper coinage, in the third and fourth centuries A.D. The presence of lead-ores in the districts of Sambalpur, Manbhum and Raipur explains why the metal was so extensively used as material for coins. Two moulds[10] of these coins, containing sockets of irregular shape, have also been recovered, showing, in the first place, that the coins were locally manufactured, and secondly, those of various sizes were simultaneously prevalent in Orissa.

Kuṣāṇa Coins and their Imitations

Quite a large number of the Kuṣāṇa and the so-called Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins have been discovered from different parts of Orissa. The latter series of coins, viz., the coins of the Puri-Kuṣāṇa group, are sometime designated by numismatists as the Oriya-Kuṣāṇa, but the unsuitability of such appellations becomes apparent when it is remembered that the circulation of these coins, as indicated by their provenance, was not confined to Puri or Orissa alone, but extended far and wide. Until a more suitable term is coined, it would be safe to describe them simply as the 'imitation Kuṣāṇa coins', since they betray unmistakable Kuṣāṇa influence.

The attention of the world of scholars to the Kuṣāṇa coins and their imitations in Orissa was first drawn by Walter Elliot[11], who studied a hoard of such coins recovered in the neighbourhood of Purushottamapur in Ganjam district in 1858. In 1893[12] another hoard, containing 548 coins, was recovered near Manikratna in Puri district. In 1917[13] some 363 coins were found on the northern slope of the Rakha hills in Singhbhum district. The Collector of Balasore in 1912[14] despatched 910 copper coins of the so-called Puri-Kuṣāṇa type to the authorities of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which are now being preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. In 1923[15] a hoard of copper coins of Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka and a large number of Kuṣāṇa imitations were found at Bhanjakia in Panchpir subdivision of Mayurbhanj district. In his *History of Orissa*, I, R. D. Banerji[16] refers to a hoard of 282 coins, out of which 170 were of the imitation series and 112 of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas, then recently discovered in Mayurbhanj district. In 1934[17] nearly 135 Kuṣāṇa coins and their imitations were discovered from Sitabhinji. A similar find[18] of the Kuṣāṇa imitations along with the Imperial Kuṣāṇa coins was brought to light at Viratgarh in the vicinity of Khiching. In 1939[19] 105 Kuṣāṇa imitations were found at Nuagaon near Bhanjakia in Mayurbhanj district. In 1960 S. C. Behera[20] has discovered a pot full of Kuṣāṇa coins from Bhillingi in

Ganjam district. Another hoard of the Kuṣāṇa coins and their imitations, numbering 1261, was discovered from Bhanjakia in Mayurbhanj district in 1963.[21] B. Nath[22] is stated to have uncovered a hoard of the Kuṣāṇa coins and their imitations near the foot of the Kayema hill in Jajpur sub-division of Cuttack district.

There has been a great deal of controversy among numismatists on the question of the bearing of the Kuṣāṇa coins upon the Orissan history. It is advanced that these coins infiltrated into Orissa by way of trade and commerce and were current in the period when the Kuṣāṇa empire had ceased to exist in Northern India.[23] It has, on the other hand, been argued that 'there is no evidence at present which contradicts the presumption that the Imperial Kuṣāṇa coins were current in Orissa during the reigns of Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka'.[24]

A cloud of uncertainty, likewise, hangs over the problem of the attribution of the Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins. Hoernle[25] is of opinion that these coins, destitute as they were of any political significance, were mere temple-tokens, but inasmuch as they have been found from different parts of Orissa, instead of the Puri region alone, in large numbers, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that they were used as currency in the country for a certain period of time. Vincent Smith[26] holds that they might have been issued by the rulers of Kaliṅga in the fourth or fifth century A.D. P. Acharya[27] advocates that the so-called Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins represent the coinage of the kings of Orissa who flourished in the Gupta period and were quite independent of the Gupta emperors. Allan[28] assigns the various hoards of these coins to the third or early fourth century A.D. T. N. Ramachandran[29], likewise, assigns them to the fourth century A.D. on the ground that the imitation Kuṣāṇa coins from Sitabhinji were found in the vicinity of a tempera painting, belonging, on ground of style and palæography of an inscription, inscribed on it, to the fourth century A.D. N. K. Sahu[30] has, of late, upheld the view that these coins were struck by the Muruṇḍa kings who ruled in Orissa in the third and fourth

centuries A.D. But it may be observed that the provenance of and the features in the so-called Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins would indicate that they were not issued by any minor local dynasty of Orissa, but by a line of administrators, who had no claim to sovereignty, but still were in charge of a very extensive region. History does not record any such ruling family in Orissa in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and unless we connect it with a Kuṣāṇa viceregal family, there would be no convincing explanation for the wide circulation of the imitation Kuṣāṇa coins at any period of Orissan history.[31]

Whosoever might have been the authors of the coins, under discussion, that these pieces, to judge from the characteristic features, appearing in them, were struck on the model of the Kuṣāṇa originals cannot be denied by any stretch of imagination. The obverse of these coins shows a standing figure, as found on the issues of the Kuṣāṇa kings Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka, whereas, the reverse copies one of the deities, occurring on the reverse of the Kuṣāṇa coins. Among the deities, represented in these coins, mention may be made of such Persian deities as Mihira, the Moon-god Mao and Vata (Oado). Such a striking similarity of the Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins with the Kuṣāṇa prototypes requires some explanation. 'In the realm of numismatics', as has been rightly pointed out by C. S. Upasak,[32] 'conservatism was a very strong force in ancient India. On any new issue of coins, it was to some extent essential to maintain the similarity with the issues of the predecessors, since it was otherwise difficult to get proper circulation and recognition among the people'. This would naturally lead to the conclusion that the imitation coins came to be introduced in Orissa to succeed the Kuṣāṇa currency.

The Gold Coin of King Dharmadāmadhara

The excavations at Sisupalgarh have brought to light a unique gold[33] coin of king Dharmadāmadhara at the floor level, attributed to the third century A.D. It is rather un-

fortunate that the Brāhmī legend on the obverse, giving the name of the issuer, is incomplete but if the suggestion, put forward by A. S. Altekar[34], be accepted, the legend would read as *Maharaja-Rajadhasa Dharmadamadharasa*, corresponding in Sanskrit to *Mahārāja-Rājādhirāja Dharmadāmadharasya*. The obverse[35] shows the device of king standing to left[36] with a peaked helmet and a suit of mail, offering an object, held in his right hand, on an altar, and holding a spear in the left hand. It is evident, therefore, that king Dharmadāmadhara, who was, in all probability a local king of Orissa, imitated the Kuṣāṇa motif of the king standing and sacrificing on an altar, on the obverse of his coins. Of the two titles, *Mahārāja* and *Rājādhirāja*, which are thus known to have been borne by this Orissan king, the former was admittedly first popularised in India by the Indo-Greek ruler Eucratides (c. B.C. 171—c. B.C. 155) who adopted the title *Mahārāja* on the reverse of some of his cointypes as Prākṛt translation of Greek Basileos. None of the early Indian kings before Eucratides are yet known to have assumed this title either in their official documents or in contemporary writings. The Maurya emperor Aśoka, for example, is simply called *Rājā* in his inscriptions. The title *Rājādhirāja* may again be said to have originated from *Rajatiraja* which occurs on some of the coins of Eucratides as a title for the Indo-Greek sovereign. No other Indo-Greek king is known to have borne this title, but it was continued and popularised by the Śaka, Pahlava and Kuṣāṇa kings. The coin of Dharmadāmadhara bears a Roman bust and traces of a distorted Greek legend on its reverse.[37] It is indeed difficult to identify the bust but it seems that it is not an exact replica of any particular bust. It is not at all surprising to see an Orissan ruler emulating a Roman head. We should not forget that Roman coins have been found not only in Tamil Nadu, but also in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. A hoard of gold coins comprising the issues of Gordian was unearthed in Singhbum district. The coins of Caracalla (A.D. 193—A.D. 217), Carinus, Numerianus and Diocletian (A.D. 285—A.D.

305), were found at various places in Uttar Pradesh like Allahabad, Chunar, Kanauj, Mathura and Mirzapur.[38] The excavations at Rajghat on the outskirts of Banaras have revealed that even in this holy city the people of about the third or the fourth century A.D. had taken a keen interest in the Grecco-Roman motifs and deities like Apollo, Heracles, Nike, etc., and used them in their seals.[39] In the circumstances, it is no wonder than that a king of Orissa would have chosen a Roman head as the reverse motif for his coinage. The weight of the present coins is 81 grains[40]; it does not follow the Roman standard of 120 grains. King Dharmadāmadhara in regard to the metrology of his coinage thus appears to have demonstrated a greater degree of originality than the early kings of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, who struck gold coins on the weight-standard of the Kuṣāṇa coins, which, in turn were based on the Roman *denarius*.

Gupta Coins

It was in the early forties[41] of the present century that a hoard of Gupta gold coins was discovered in Panchpir subdivision of Mayurbhanj district, of which unfortunately only one coin could be recovered. The discovery of Gupta coins, therefore, corroborates Gupta paramountcy in Orissa, as gleaned from the epigraphical evidence.

Coins of King Sunanda

In 1952[42] a hoard of 147 copper coins of different size and weight has been discovered at the village of Nanduru near Gandibedha in Balasore district. These coins bear on their obverse a couchant bull and on the reverse a legend of four letters of the box-headed variety, which may be read as *Sunandasya vu*, although S. N. Rajaguru would suggest *śrī* in place of *su*. The identification of king Sunanda is far from certain, for he is not known from any other source. S. N.

Rajaguru[43] is of opinion that king Sunanda was probably a scion of the Māṭhara dynasty of Siṁhapura but it is difficult to agree with him in view of certain considerations. Sunanda was a king of the Gandibedha region while no Māṭhara king is known to have exercised his sway over any territory, lying to the north of the river Mahanadi. And secondly, while the Māṭhara kings were staunch devotees of Viṣṇu, king Sunanda was undoubtedly a Śaiva by faith. N. K. Sahu[44] identifies him with a Māna king and predecessor of king Śambhuyaśas but this suggestion is equally hypothetical. The box-headed characters, employed in his coins, would indicate that he belonged to the fifth or the sixth century A.D. The only touch of alien inspiration that may possibly be traced on the copper coins of Sunanda is the use of the genitive case-ending in the name of the king. It is worth noting in this connection that the name of the king and his regal epithets are mostly in genitive in the Indo-Greek coins. These coins do not show any further traces of foreign elements. The copper coins of the Kuṣāṇa kings, for example, bear the figure of the king on the obverse and deities, belonging to different pantheons on the reverse but such elements do not make their appearance on the coins of Sunanda.

Gold Coins of the Nala Kings

Thirty-two gold coins of the Nala kings, ruling over *Dakṣiṇa* Kosala in the fifth century A.D., were discovered in 1939[45] at the village of Edenga in Kondegaon tahsil of Bastar district. They are all single-die coins, with the device and the legend embossed in relief on the obverse, the reverse remaining blank. These coins, on the ground of their size, can be grouped broadly into two classes ; the larger ones, numbering ten, measure from 20 to 21 millimeters in diameter and weigh from 19.7 to 24.6 grains each. The smaller pieces, which are twenty-two in number, are about 15 millimeters in diameter and 7.5 grains in weight each.[46] The flan on the obverse is

divided into two parts by lines, varying between one and three in number. The upper part contains the figure of the humped bull and crescent while the lower portion shows the name of the king. Out of these thirty-two gold coins, seven larger size and twenty-two smaller size coins belong to Varāharāja, one larger size coin is assignable to Bhavadatta and two larger size pieces were struck by Arthapati. It is interesting to note that while the legend of the coins of Bhavadatta and Arthapati contains the name of their respective issuers in genitive, that of the coins of Varāha is given in nominative. From the point of view of characters the coins of Varāha are the earliest and those of Arthapati the lattest in the whole lot.

Barring, of course, the use of genitive in coin-legends, these coins do not betray any foreign influence and they appear to be struck on an indigenous weight standard. The *Arthaśāstra*[47] speaks of a small gold coin called *Māṣaka* as being 5 *rattis* in weight (*Suvarṇa-māṣakaḥ pañca vā guñjāḥ | te ṣoḍaśa suvarṇaḥ karṣo vā |*). Similar details are recorded by Manu[48] in the following passage :

Pañca Kṛṣṇlako māṣas=te suvarṇas=tu ṣoḍaśa |

It seems that the smaller coins represent a *Māṣa* of 5 *rattis* and the larger ones, three *Māṣas* each.

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1. *OHRJ*, I, pp. 123-26.
2. *UUHO*, I, p. 281.
3. Several scholars, including Durga Prasad, Walsh, D. D. Kosambi, P. L. Gupta and S. C. Ray have admirably worked on the chronology of punch-marked coins.
4. *JNSI*, XV, p. 55.
5. *JNSI*, XIX, p. 107. The four symbols are as follows : i) Elephant with a small circle at the back ; ii) Humped

bull facing left ; iii) Two bulls yoked in a plough ; iv) A solid oval encircled by dots.

6. Ibid, XV, p. 55.
7. *JNSI*, XIX, p. 109-110.
8. *AI*, V, p. 97.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid, V, p. 99. Moulds of punch-marked coins, which were made either of metal or clay, are rare. The excavations at Mathura (B. Sahni, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, pp. 44-47) and Kondapur (P. L. Gupta, *The Punch-marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, pp. 132-33) have brought to light a few such moulds.
11. *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science* (1858), pp. 75-78.
12. *Proc. ASB*, 1895, pp. 61ff.
13. J*BORS*, V, pp. 73ff.
14. *AR*, *ASI*, 1924-25, p. 130.
15. Ibid.
16. *HO*, I, pp. 111-15.
17. J*NSI*, II, p. 124.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid, IX, p. 107.
20. *OHR*J, XII, p. 58.
21. *OHR*J, II, p. 85.
22. Ibid, p. 84.
23. J*NSI*, XV, p. 187.
24. Ibid, XXVIII, p. 9.
25. *Proc. ASB*, 1895, pp. 63ff.
26. *CCIM*, Calcutta, I, pp. 64-65.
27. J*NSI*, II, pp. 125-26.
28. *BMC*, *AI*, pp. 205-09.
29. J*NSI*, XIII, p. 69.
30. *UUHO*, I, pp.
31. J*NSI*, XXVIII, p. 10.
32. J*NSI*, XXIII, p. 216.

33. Chronologically speaking, the earliest known gold coins in India were issued by the Indo-Greek kings Eucratides I and Menander. The gold coins of Diodotus I and II and Euthydemus I, no doubt, go back to still earlier epoch but there is hardly any definite evidence to show that these kings were in any way associated with India. A coin called *Niṣka* is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* as well as in the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Jātaka* literature. We come across another coin named *Śatamāna* in the later *Saṁhitā* and the Brāhmaṇa texts. Both these coins are generally believed to be made of the yellow metal.
34. *AI*, V, 100.
35. Ibid, p. 95.
36. The device of the king standing and offering on an altar appears for the first time on certain coins of Kadphises II (Allan, *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa*, pl. I and II). This device likewise occurs on certain coins of the Parthian monarch Gotarzes who ruled from A.D. 40-41 to A.D. 51. B. N. Mukherjee (*JNSI*, XXII, pp. 109-112) opines that Kadphises II copied the device from Gotarzes.
37. *AI*, V, p. 95.
38. Ibid, II, pp. 116-20.
39. *JNSI*, III, p. 73.
40. Ibid, XIII, p. 4.
41. Ibid, IX, p. 106.
42. *OHRJ*, V, pp. 157-59.
43. Ibid, p. 159.
44. *UUHO*, I, p. 521.
45. *JNSI*, I, pp. 29ff.
46. Ibid, p. 29.
47. II. 19.
48. VIII. 134.

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CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	Read	For
8	20	region	regon
8	27	not unanimous	notuna nimous
10	5	Vijayasiṁhapura	Vijayasiṁhopura
11	12	Sumandala plates	Sumandala plate
13	26	Vārāṇasī	Vārāṇāsī
14	1	*Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśa-vibhāga*	*Saṭpañcāśaddeśa-vibhāga*
17	33	villages	village
19	24	Koṭṭūra	Kottura
41	17	Puri and Antarodh	Puri Antarodh
48	10	of the Bhauma	the Bhauma
49	6	Nābhigayā	Nabhigayā
53	8	śaśī	śāsī
60	7	Bamra	Bomra
65	11	Nayagarh	Nyayagarh
68	26	Kodāloka or Kodālaka	Kodaloka or Kodaloka
69	5	Jayānanda	Jayananda
69	10	Somavaṁśīs	Somavaṁsī
73	16	Jarākhaṇḍa	Jharākhaṇḍa
74	26	Jomurdi	jomurdi
78	33	Bhramaragiri	the Bhramaragiri
81	15	Laisarā	Loisarā
81	17	Giḍāṇḍa	Gidāṇḍā
88	17	Olasuni	the Olasuni
88	20	contain	contained
88	23	of	of the
90	23	where	where the

Page	*Line*	*Read*	*For*
92	8	*bhuktidā*	*bhuxtida*
96	15	easterly	easternly
96	16	northerly	northernly
96	17	southerly	southernly
97	15	*DMO*	Ibid.
101	1	Cedi	Cede
104	11	Prasenajit	Prasenjit
105	19	Vītihotra	Vitihotra
108	10	Raychaudhuri	Raychaudhury
112	14	king	King
114	33	*Nagara Vyava*	*Nagara Vyāva*
115	18	*anukaṁmati*	*anukampati*
116	22	on	no
122	34	*Paura-Vyavahārikas*	*Paura-Vyāvahārikas*
127	17	is	in
143	9	Princep	Prinsep
146	27	Hārītiputra	Haritīputra
147	3	Vyaghragumpha	Vyagragumpha
148	6	Mahendra	the Mahendra
149	26	Ceta	the Ceta
181	17	perusal of	of
199	5-7	Anantavarman conquered this region from the Somavaṁśī kings who established their authority over this region about the second quarter of the eleventh century.	It was about the second quarter of the eleventh century that Anantavarman conquered this region from the Somavaṁśī kings who were in occupation of this area.
200	2	thinks that	thinks
200	7	legendary	legendry
202	2	Nāgavaṁśī	Nagavaṁśī
206	23	88+606=694 A.D.	88=606=694 A.D.

Page	*Line*	*Read*	*For*
208	35	letter	latter
221	8	charters	characters
221	20	a	of a
222	36	Venkataramayya	Venkataramyya
223	11	inscriptions	inscription
224	33	*sva-prajā*	*sv-aprajā*
228	1	Anantavarman	of Anantavarman
237	32	platės	piates
256	3	Y. R. Gupte	Y. R. Gupta
269	10	present coin	present coins

ABBREVIATIONS

AEHO	*An Early History of Orissa*, by A. C. Mittal (Banaras, 1962).
AGI	*Ancient Geography of India*, by A. Cunningham (Calcutta, 1924).
AI	*Ancient India*.
AI	*Asokan Inscriptions*, by R. G. Basak (Calcutta, 1959).
AIHT	*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, by F. E. Pargiter.
AIK	*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, by R. C. Majumdar.
AIU	*The Age of Imperial Unity*, by R. C. Majumdar (1953).
AHD	*Ancient History of the Deccan*, by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil (Pondichery, 1920).
ANM	*The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Banaras, 1953).
ASM	*The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja*, I, by N. N. Vasu (1911).
BO	*Buddhism in Orissa*, by N. K. Sahu.
CA	*The Classical Age*, by R. C. Majumdar.
CAI	*The Classical Accounts of India*, by R. C. Majumdar (Calcutta, 1960).
CBKSO	*The Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and Somavamsis of Orissa*, by K. C. Panigrahi.
CHI	*The Cambridge History of India*, I (First Indian Reprint).
CHI	*A Comprehensive History of India*, II, by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Calcutta, 1957).
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, by Fleet.
DHNI	*Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, by H. C. Ray (1931).

DKA	*Purana Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, by F. E. Pargiter (1913).
DMO	*Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, by B. Misra (Calcutta, 1933).
EAI	*Ethnography of Ancient India*, by R. Shafer (1954).
EHD	*The Early History of the Deccan*, by G. Yazdani (Oxford, 1960).
EHI	*Early History of India*, by V. A. Smith (1914).
EHNI	*Early History of North India*, by S. Chattopadhyaya (Calcutta, 1968).
EI	*Epigraphia Indica.*
HB	*History of Bengal*, I, by R. C. Majumdar (Dacca, 1943).
HISI	*Historical Inscriptions of South India*, by R. B. Sewell, (Madras, 1932).
HO	*History of Orissa*, I, by R. D. Banerji.
HO	*The History of Orissa*, I, by H. K. Mahtab (1959).
HNEI	*History of North-Eastern India*, by R. G. Basak (Calcutta, 1967).
IA	*The Indian Antiquary.*
IC	*Indian Culture.*
IE	*Indian Epigraphy*, by D. C. Sircar.
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
IO	*Inscriptions of Orissa*, by S. N. Rajaguru.
JAHRS	*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
JBRS	*Journal of the Bihar Research Society.*
JIH	*Journal of Indian History.*
JKHRS	*Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society.*
JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*
JDL	*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University.
LSI	*Linguistic Survey of India.*
MASI	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*

OHRJ	*The Orisa Historical Research Journal.*
OM	*Orisa in the Making*, by B. C. Mazumdar.
OUBK	*Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, by B. Misra.
PAPDI	*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, by P. C. Bagchi.
PBI	*Pre-Buddhist India*, by R. L. Mehta (1939).
PHAI	*Political History of Ancient India*, by H. C. Raychaudhuri.
PIHC	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*
SGAMI	*Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, by D. C. Sircar (Banaras, 1960).
SHAIB	*Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, by B. C. Sen (1942).
SI	*Studies in Indology*, by V. V. Mirashi.
SI	*Select Inscriptions*, by D. C. Sircar (Calcutta, 1939).
YCTI	*Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, by Thomas Watters.
UUHO	*Utkal University History of Orissa*, I, by N. K. Sahu.
VGA	*The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, by R. C. Majumdar (Lahore, 1946).

THE BOOK

The present work embodies the author's endeavour to trace historical geography and dynastic history of the glorious land of the Oriyas up to the Rise of the Imperial Gangas byC.A.D.900. Many distinguished Inddogists, both Indian and foreign, have already trodden the field, but interesting as it is, the field still continues to offer an unabated scope for further exploration. In the course of his investigation the author has carefully gone through the invaluable writings of all the previous writens and judged their conclusions afresh in the light of the materials, indigenous and foreign, and literary and archaedogical.

Part I of this work deals with the various territorial units of Orissa, their administrative divisions, towns, rivers and mountains in them, pieced together from stray sources Part II traces the political life of the region during those early days which witnessed the rise and fall of several royal houses of which the Cedis, Sailodbhavas, Bhauma-Karas and Gangas were more prominent.

The importance of this work lies not only in the richness of details but also in an approach of critical objectivity that has evoked the appreciation of eminent historians like D. C. Sircar, T. V. Mahalingam, S. Chattopadhyaya and K. D. Bajpai.